DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 193 718 CS 503 091

TITLE The Media Crisis...
INSTITUTION World Press Freedom Committee, Miami.
PUB DATE [80]
NOTE 114p.
AVAILABLE FROM World Press Freedom Committee, Miami Herald, 1 Herald Plaza, Miami, FL 33101 (Postage only)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Censorship; Democracy; *Developing Nations; *Freedom of Speech; *Futures (of Society); Information Theory; *Journalism; *Mass Media; News Media
IDENTIFIERS *MacBride Commission Report

ABSTRACT

This booklet contains comments by those who have been involved in UNESCO debates on the media and on the proposed New Information Order. Specifically, it offers comments on the proposals of the MacBride commission, a group appointed by UNESCO to study the problems of international communications. Specific topics addressed in the various sections of the booklet include: (1) the right of access to private and public sources of information; (2) special protection for journalists, (3) licensing of journalists, (4) employment of journalists by intelligence agencies of any country, (5) a proposed international center for study and planning of information and communications to be established within UNESCO, (6) private ownership of news media, (7) problems created by advertising, and (8) taxing of transnationals. (HOD)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED193718

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

THE MEDIA CRISIS...

- The Problems Faced in UNESCO
- The MacBride Commission Report
- The New Information Order
- The Challenges of Belgrade

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

George Beebe

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Published by the

WORLD PRESS FREEDOM COMMITTEE
REX RAND FUND

CSS03091

Additional copies of this book are available and may be obtained by writing to:

George Beebe, Executive Director
World Press Freedom Committe
1 Herald Plaza
Miami, Florida 33101

Book designed by Bernard Lipsky
Printed by Classic Printers, Miami, Florida

Manufactured in the United States of America

Contents

Introduction *vii*
George Beebe

The Controversy... and How It Began *1*
Leonard R. Sussman

MacBride Commission Report:
An Agenda for Future Campaigns *9*
Leonard R. Sussman

New World Information Order:
An Idea Whose Time is Near *15*
Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow

A Suitable Case for Bashing *23*
from *The Economist*

Cooperate – But Not at
the Expense of Our Principles *25*
Harold W. Andersen

New World Information Order:
A Bad Idea that Refuses to Die *29*
Leonard H. Marks

Too Many of the Proposals
Undermine Pursuit of Truth *31*
Jerry W. Friedheim

MacBride Report Prescribes
Peril Instead of Protection *39*
Tina S. Hills

4

Democratizing the Media
Means State Control 43
James B. Canel

An Ambiguity of Attitude
Toward Freedom of Information 45
Rosemary Righter

A Search for Truth...
Or A Denial of Truth? 51
Gerald Long

Administrative Regulation
Diminishes Free Expression 57
The Position of the
National Association of Broadcasters

The Primary Task: To Loosen
State Control, Not Tighten It 61
The Position of the *International Federation of Journalists* and the *Newspaper Guild*

A Healthy Press Requires
A Proper Economic Climate 65
The Position of the
Dutch Newspaper Press Association

The New Order: A Changing
Process With Constant Goals 69
Sean MacBride

MacBride Commission Report:
Part V: Communication Tomorrow 75

The World Press
Freedom Committee Story 107

World Press Freedom
Committee Officers 111

World Press Freedom
Committee Affiliates 113

Introduction

THE MEDIA have not escaped a world in turmoil.

They are in a tug-of-war between free press and controlled press philosophies.

A highly-promoted New World Information Order, containing some proposals unacceptable to the West and its media, is only a conference away from adoption, rejection or compromise.

The free world media never have faced a more challenging period.

That we – and our adversaries – may be fully aware of the inherent dangers imbedded in the MacBride Commission Report, and the New Information Order, the World Press Freedom Committee presents comments by those who have been involved in UNESCO debates on the media for the last four years.

It also offers the views of the UNESCO director-general, Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, and of Sean MacBride, the Irish diplomat who headed the commission to study the problems of international communications.

The MacBride Report, which goes on to debate at the UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade in the fall, acknowledges that this is a pluralistic world, and that no one model of communications is feasible or desirable.

Yet those who would diminish the free press concept studiously reject this basic premise and continue their crusade in areas of the world not yet certain which ideologic philosophy is best for their national future.

Some of their proposals for a "better" information order, promoted in lofty dimensions, often prove to be cleverly disguised

strategies to gain further control and regulation of the flow of news.

It is these deceptions that concern the Western media and news agencies.

We have been cautiously optimistic in recent years because reason and moderation have prevailed at UNESCO conferences where hostility and bias once marred discussions.

If a communications showdown is imminent, it is hoped that goals of the Third World can be achieved through cooperation rather than confrontation.

No substantial and lasting progress can be gained without such cooperation and the elimination of illogical proposals that the free world cannot accept.

The MacBride Commission Report, with its pluses and minuses for all ideologic and political philosophies, goes to the Belgrade conference loaded with some 55 dissident reports and proposed amendments, as well as suggestions from the UNESCO director-general, which could be given greater attention than the report itself.

But it is the development of the MacBride Report that has held our attention in the last two years.

The positive aspects of the study include:

- Censorship in all forms is condemned.
- The right of access applies to private as well as public sources of information.
- Journalists should have no special protection; they will be protected when the rights of all citizens are guaranteed.
- Licensing of journalists is rejected because it would require stipulation by some authority as to who is eligible and on what basis.
- Employment of journalists by intelligence agencies of any country is condemned.

The negative aspects of the study include:

- A proposed International Center for Study and Planning of Information and Communications to be established within UNESCO. This appears the most troublesome of proposals to the Western world, for the center not only would monitor and establish

standards for the global media, but would serve as a training center as well.

• A consistent advocacy of pressuring if not requiring news media (including "transnationals," or the international news agencies) to promote government-set "social, cultural, economic and political goals."

• A bias against private ownership of news media and communication facilities.

• A bias against "problems created in a society by advertising."

• A suggestion that transnationals might be taxed "for the benefit of developing countries."

• Unqualified criticism of concentration of media ownership without acknowledging this sometimes is inevitable and/or desirable in a free, private enterprise society.

Those who are familiar with these issues give their views in this book.

The World Press Freedom Committee has conducted a cooperative effort with the Third World media for three years, with training programs, seminars, workshops and in providing consultants.

A summary of the aims and achievements of this organization can be found in the final pages of this book.

The WPFC also has vigilantly monitored international conferences where the free world media have been under scrutiny, and has tried to offer reason and moderation to the discussions.

It will have a delegation at Belgrade for five weeks, or until the MacBride Report has been acted upon.

It again will advocate Third World assistance through cooperation of the private sectors.

George Beebe
Executive Director
World Press Freedom Committee

The Media Crisis...

The Controversy ...and How It Began

By LEONARD R. SUSSMAN*

IT IS 1976. The Soviet Union's draft declaration at UNESCO stipulated the "use" of the mass news media for certain purposes, and made independent journalists subject to control by governments.

The draft set forth "principles governing the use of the mass media in strengthening peace and international understanding and in combating war propaganda, racism and apartheid."

The operative Article XII declared that "States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."

Western governments, and the independent news media on their own, mounted a strong defense that won a two-year delay. The declaration was to be rewritten and, to save face for supporters of the declaration, a 16-person commission was created under the chairmanship of Sean MacBride, recipient of both the Lenin and Nobel Peace Prizes.

Establishing the commission was a bow to the activists, particularly in the Third World. The trade-off was not as clear as has been interpreted either in the Third or First Worlds. By and large, the MacBride Commission was regarded in the West as a forum in which the ideological predispositions were about three to one op-

*Leonard R. Sussman, executive director of Freedom House, authored the sections on the news media in that institution's yearbook, *Freedom in the World, Political Rights and Civil Liberties, 1980*. Excerpts from the first section tell the origin of the controversial worldwide news media issues. The second section, in the next chapter, summarizes the challenges immediately ahead.

posed to most Western positions. Consequently, the MacBride Commission discussions and report were seen in the West as an exercise in damage-limitation.

The West generally regarded the commission as another document-writing exercise, with the final control left to the UNESCO General Conference of 1980 to accept or reject the commission's recommendations. There, perhaps another delaying formula could be found.

Third World activists, however, assumed that for agreeing to a delay in adopting a document that would convert the free-flow doctrine into a balancing declaration, the Third World had received a commission to spell out specific reforms in world news media systems. These reforms, the Third World activists believed, would themselves reduce the "imbalance" in news volume which they regarded as favoring Western interests.

Extensive efforts were made by two Third World members of the MacBride Commission (Masmoudi of Tunisia and Osolnik of Yugoslavia) to define a New World Information Order (NWIO) and state explicit demands for the transfer of communication power. Their papers are annexed to the commission's final report.

The Masmoudi paper stated that communication must be regarded as a "social goal and a cultural product, and not as a material commodity." Accordingly, "the right of those receiving information" -- that is, the public -- "should be so regulated... as to ensure free and balanced flow of information."

Hence, the document continues, each nation "should choose its information in accordance with its own realities and requirements." Governments thus should create their own national news agencies (as some 100 have done), and should share information through the existing Nonaligned press agency pool.

The document describes as "musts":

> In respect of current news:
> - regulation of the right to information by preventing abusive uses of the right of access to information;
> - definition of appropriate criteria to govern truly objective news selections;
> - regulation of the collection, processing and transmission of news and data across national frontiers...

In all cases, the document makes clear, governments would regulate the collecting, processing and transmission of news and data

across national boundaries. It is stated that the NWIO "must be considered as the essential corollary of the New International Economic Order."

Noted John E. Reinhardt (head of the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA) and chief of the U.S. delegation to the 1976 and 1978 UNESCO biennials): The NWIO issue "will have to be followed with care and attention. At its worst, a NWIO could mean legitimizing a limitation on the access to news sources, condoning censorship, placing a restriction on information flow across national borders, and imposing a series of duties, encumbrances, and responsibilities upon the media outside of their reporting functions."

At its best, he said, "it could mean a greater two-way flow of news, films, television programs, books, scientific and cultural information, and closer relations and a better understanding among individuals and nations."

In addition to approving the creation of the MacBride Commission, the West – particularly the United States – promised to make available to developing countries some communications technology and training of personnel. With the assistance of Black African countries, then, the bargain was sealed: the mass media declaration was postponed for two years, the MacBride Commission would proceed, and technology transfers would begin.

In 1978: The UNESCO conference dealt with (1) a new declaration on the media, (2) an interim report of the MacBride Commission, (3) a separate examination of a New World Information Order, and (4) programs in communications research and activities.

Several mass media drafts had been written in the interim. The version submitted to the 1978 biennial was almost as harsh as the 1976 draft. It still condoned manipulation of the press for ulterior purposes, and readily supported control and coercion. At the biennial, Western governments and independent journalists again negotiated extensively with groups of Third World delegates. The West "sanitized" the declaration, eliminating all references to press controls.

The Soviet representatives were largely unaware of the two-track negotiations conducted up to the evening before the final vote. While USSR delegates were negotiating over their own press-control draft, moderate Third World and Western representatives were fashioning a completely different control-free text.

By acclamation, November 22, the delegates accepted a text that nowhere supported government interference in the free flow of

news. The text was titled, "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, the Promotion of Human Rights and Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War."

Throughout the text, there were clear statements that human rights must be respected. Interference in the free flow of information was regarded as a violation of a human right. Diversity of sources and means of information were called for, along with the journalist's freedom to report and fullest possible access to information.

There was clear support, moreover, for "a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity," a balancing of news reports between the developed and developing countries, and among the developing countries. This was an improvement over earlier drafts calling for a "balanced flow," the antithesis of a free flow.

The declaration also noted "the aspirations of the developing countries for the establishment of a new, more just and more effective world information and communication order." This was more ambiguous than the ardent earlier calls for a New World Information Order (NWIO). The upper-case "order" suggested a preordained, unitary "order" with a Hitlerian ring.

A Fundamental Tenet Is Undermined

The text adopted by acclamation did not contain press-control language. But by its very being, the declaration undermined one fundamental tenet of the free-flow constitutionalists: namely, that governments could not legislate on behalf of a government-free press.

By indirection, the Western governments had done so. To be sure, they had a still worse alternative. If they had abstained or failed to negotiate, a far harsher document would have prevailed. While that would not have had the power of a treaty creating new law, a declaration would set a new universal standard for international journalism.

A government-control declaration would provide visible, broad support for all manner of press censorship. It is likely that even the 1978 declaration will provide the opening for Third World and Soviet bloc activists to insinuate increasingly harsher press-control concepts into UNESCO writ.

It is likely, too, that some of the recommendations of the

MacBride Commission, including MacBride's own call for protection of journalists linked to demonstrations of their sense of responsibility, will find ready support among Third World activists.

A little-noted resolution approved at the 1978 UNESCO biennial was a parallel declaration on the NWIO. The wording followed the compromise language of the media declaration itself. The NWIO was not upper-cased, nor were the words of NWIO spelled out. Endorsement of a new "order" was explicitly avoided in both declarations.

Clearly, however, the NWIO concept is the leading edge of the Third World activists' challenge to Western communication media. Within hours after the UNESCO declarations were approved, the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly, with U.S. support, approved a consensus resolution linking the aspiration for a "new... order" to the maintenance of a "free flow and a wider and better balanced dissemination of information." The U.S. rejected any specific definition of the NWIO.

The 1978 UNESCO declaration provided a new trade-off. The softening of the text (just as the delay in approving a text in 1976) was accompanied by still firmer Western, particularly American, promises of technology and training assistance to Third World communicators.

Americans pledged specific technological and training assistance for Third World communication systems. The United States promised some $25,000,000 in satellite facilities and help in establishing six regional journalism and training centers in the Third World.

A consortium of 32 non-governmental print and broadcast news services, editors and managers in the World Press Freedom Committee (WPFC) continued to provide equipment and training for developing-country communications. Some 36 grants in 16 countries were made through March 1980. Other seminars and workshops aided other countries in Africa, the Caribbean and Central America. The International Press Institute (IPI) organized training seminars on editorial and technical subjects for journalists in Africa and Asia.

In 1979: As the 1980 UNESCO biennial conference at Belgrade neared, the United States government delivered some of the promised communications assistance. It hosted a Washington conference to plan a major intergovernmental meeting in Paris the following spring. The American proposal for technology transfer would be funded through the United Nations Development Program (UNDP),

the International Telecommunications Unions (ITU) and the World Bank.

Competition Develops Within the UN

Third World activists, however, disapproved the American effort to spread power over several UN and international agencies. The activists favored UNESCO as the sole repository of information development. Meanwhile, however, competition was developing within the UN system. The general conference itself had voted, December 4, 1979, to examine the implications of a new information and communication order.

The UN General Assembly's Third Committee created the UN Committee on Information with a membership of 66 states. While recognizing the "central" role played by UNESCO in informational matters, the UN's new committee nevertheless was assigned some primacy.

It would expect progress reports from UNESCO's director-general on "the establishment of the new world information and communication order" following the conclusion of UNESCO's 1980 conference.

The subject was added to the agenda for the next session of the General Assembly. The American delegate, Alfred P. Brainard, declared that there are "potential problems" in promoting the establishment of "new orders that require significant changes in international, and also national, structures such as are involved in both the call for a new international economic order and of a new world information and communication order." American "reservations" are well known, he added.

In 1980: The UN itself now seems likely to develop its own programs and secretariat to target further the performance of the mass news media on the world scene. Meanwhile, journalists and interested media-watchers around the world awaited the final test of the MacBride Commission's report. A pre-publication reading of the conclusions revealed that while censorship and governmental controls were rejected, considerable support was given – between the lines in some cases, more openly in others – for continued efforts to devise a code of ethics for journalists, which ultimately implies the licensing of newspeople, and the monitoring of their output against some governmentally approved standard.

It is likely that MacBride's own paper, added to the report, will be discussed at the 1980 biennial of UNESCO. He links the protection of journalists to their performing responsibly.

The commission rejected this thesis, saying that journalists need no greater protection than that accorded all citizens. In the commission's words: "Journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are protected and guaranteed." Despite this rejection of MacBride's thesis, it is likely that the subject again will be hotly debated at Belgrade.

The matter of technology transfer will also remain a primary Third World expectation. If mainly the American government's promises are again placed in the pipeline by September 1980, the ideological war could erupt anew at Belgrade.

Support by private sources such as the World Press Freedom Committee, while generous in spirit and helpful to many recipients, cannot possibly match the needs abroad.

One cannot ignore, however, this related statistic from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: Some 117 Third World countries in 1977 spent $96.9 billion on their defense budgets. Most notable, from 1973 to 1977, the developing countries bought $48.3 billion in arms from the developed countries, East and West.

MacBride Commission Report: An Agenda for Future Campaigns

By LEONARD R. SUSSMAN

THE CAMPAIGN to achieve *explicit, firm, internationally binding responsibilities* of states for the duties the mass media are commissioned to perform – proceeds.

It was conducted for two years ending in November 1979 within the MacBride Commission. One hundred documents were produced in addition to a five-part final report. Of the sixteen members of the commission, no more than six could be expected to support unconditionally the traditional Western-style independence of journalists from governmental controls.

The commission met in the presence of a secretariat mainly committed to advancing the position of Third World activism. Sean MacBride repeatedly found himself at loggerheads with the secretariat over ideological as well as administrative matters.

The secretariat maintained it was trying to prevent the chairman from committing member states to positions they had not formerly approved. Repeatedly, drafts produced by the secretariat at the request of the commission included ideas not approved by the commissioners.

In some cases, ideas that had been rejected several times by commissioners emerged in later drafts. Turgid prose was regularly deleted, only to have it reappear in new versions. One such "final draft" paragraph that had to be cut for the third time from the truly final draft:

> "The increasing numbers of those possessing means of engaging in traditional, interpersonal or mediated communication is not an adequate sign of the expansion of social communication, or of its democratization..."

"... Over-information and the superabundance of the messages being transmitted are not tendencies to be fostered...
"We accordingly suggest that: 1) All countries adopt measures to enlarge the sources of mutual information needed by citizens in their everyday lives, as well as a guaranteed access thereto."

A version of the final report of the MacBride Commission made available earlier this year offers 82 conclusions and recommendations, and sets forth twelve other issues which the commissioners felt require further study.

The commission's main conclusion is that because of the diversity of the countries and their communication systems – based on their "diverse patterns of social, economic and cultural life" and "their traditions, needs and possibilities" – "there is no place for the universal application of preconceived models."

"Communication" – the commission states at the outset – "can be an instrument of power, a revolutionary weapon, a commercial product, or a means of education; it can serve the end either of liberation or of oppression, either of the growth of the individual personality or of drilling human beings into conformity." The commission adds, "Each society will have to make its own choice in its own way."

Yet the commission clearly assigns a responsibility to communication media: they must support the objectives of economic development.

The commission strongly urges the elimination of imbalances and disparities in communication, its structures and information flows. But the commission regards the right to seek, impart and receive information as a fundamental human right, and a prerequisite for other rights.

This right is an individual one, as well as a collective one, required by all communities and nations. The commission supported UNESCO's insistence on the development of comprehensive national communication policies. This is a wedge through which government controls over the press for "just causes" can readily advance.

In the United States, one can devise an elaborate communication policy for all the diverse agencies of the government that have domestic and international communications programs. Yet such a policy would not encompass the wide-ranging activities and impact of the independent American news and entertainment media. For

them, the only "policy" the U.S. government needs is that stipulated in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The MacBride Report would provide a framework for the development of a new information and communications order. This is far less specific than speaking of the NWIO.

Instead, the report regards the order as an "ongoing process of successive changes in the nature of relations between and within nations in the fields of communication."

The commission called for "crucial decisions" concerning communication development to promote "more understanding of diversity and plurality... of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways."

The commission supported the development of strong national news agencies, distribution of a series of small-format TV and radio systems, research for the production of cheap newsprint from widely available raw materials, reduction in tariffs for news transmission, integration of communication development with other forms of development, and strengthening cultural identity through national policies.

The commission severely attacked the privately-owned mass media. Preference should be given to noncommercial forms when the media are expanded, the report stated. The "negative effects" of "market and commercial considerations" on news flows should be reduced. The American commissioner, Elie Abel, responded:

> "At no time has the commission seen evidence adduced in support of the notion that market and commercial considerations necessarily exert a negative effect upon communication flows. On the contrary, the commission has praised elsewhere in this report courageous investigative journalism of the sort that can be sustained only by independent media whose survival depends upon their acceptance in the marketplace, rather than the favors of political leaders. The commission also is aware that market mechanisms play an increasingly important role today even in so-called planned economies..."

Advertising was specifically condemned. "Effective legal measures" were advised "to limit the process of concentration and monopolization" in public or private ownership of the media. The commission distinguished between "owners and managers [of media] on the one hand and journalists on the other." The report called for democratizing the management of the media so that journalists would have "a more active role in editorial policy and management."

Freedom and responsibility of the journalist were said to be indivisible. Freedom without a display of responsibility invites distortion, the report said.

In the absence of freedom, it added, there can be no exercise of responsibility. The commission refrained, however, from recommending that a code of ethics be imposed on journalists.

Sean MacBride repeatedly during the two-year period had spoken and written of a code to be tied to the protection of journalists. In return for their safety, journalists would accept a code of ethics. This code would be monitored, presumably by governments or an inter-governmental agency. Violators of the code could be penalized or their license to practice as journalists withdrawn.

The commission rejected licensing as well as the code, though it urged that new ways be developed for the public to assess media performance. The commission rejected any special protection of journalists. It said that journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are protected and guaranteed. MacBride has written a document on protection of journalists to be appended to the final report. It was likely that the questions of protection/licensing/code/responsibilities of the journalist would surface once again at the 1980 biennial of UNESCO in Belgrade.

The internal controversies of the commission ended almost as they began. At an early commission session in Stockholm in April 1978, Leonid Zamatin tangled with Elie Abel over access of journalists to news sources.

Zamatin, then the head of TASS, has since been elevated to information chief of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Soviet Union. Abel, then dean of Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism, was the only American on the commission.

Abel had said foreign journalists should be able to speak to citizens holding diverse viewpoints. Zamatin responded in anger:

"Opposition ended in the Soviet Union in 1922!"

Finally, they agreed on a formula: "All foreign correspondents requesting a visa must be authorized to do their job and assured access to the complete spectrum of opinion within the country."

At the final session in November 1979, Zamatin's successor angrily rejected the commission's conclusion that balanced reporting necessarily involves "access to unofficial, as well as official sources of information, that is, access to the entire spectrum of opinion within any country."

S. Losev, the new Soviet member, said this statement "doesn't correspond to the Helsinki Final Act." He would replace the paragraph and state that foreign correspondents must act "with due respect to the national sovereignty and the national identity of the host country." The Soviets often invoke Principle VI of the Final Act regarding intervention in internal affairs.

Inherently, however, any topic treated in the Final Act constitutes a legitimate subject for review of the implementation of the act, and access of journalists is such a subject.

"Intervention" is a juridical term which suggests military or related acts, and hardly encompasses published or broadcast material from abroad. Principle VI, therefore, does not prevent human-rights-minded observers from acknowledging and decrying torture and inhumane treatment of citizens in another country.

New World Information Order: An Idea Whose Time Is Near

By AMADOU-MAHTAR M'BOW*

MY SUBJECT raises a series of problems that have been of constant concern to the various governing bodies of UNESCO ever since its foundation.

These problems now call for urgent attention because they have assumed outstanding importance in international relations, and because there is increasing awareness of the fact that their solution could contribute greatly to eliminating the prejudices that are still at the root of so much incomprehension among peoples.

Solving them could also make all mankind more aware of its inescapable solidarity, and so spare it the tensions that have so often, in the course of history, sparked off serious conflicts and destruction on a vast scale.

Communication, indeed, lies at the heart of all social existence, and is an essential feature of community life. Its impact on the mind has become so great in modern societies that, whether or not the fact is acknowledged, it tends to influence the attitudes adopted and even the action taken by governments.

In the last analysis, what we are accustomed to call public opinion is very often simply the reflection of points of view expressed in the press and on radio and television, especially when such points of view are backed by information selected to appeal to the emotions of the reader or listener.

In any case, no one can deny the effect that can be produced on

*Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow is UNESCO Director General. This is the partial text of a talk entitled, "UNESCO and Communications in the Modern World," which he delivered at the University of Bujumbura on Feb. 5, 1980.

the uninformed or insufficiently informed reader – let alone listener or viewer – by items of news or comment that are repeated deliberately so as to convince the public of their accuracy and of the inevitability of the consequences that are alleged to flow from them. The facts show that, very often, "hard sell" by the mass media is a preparation or a justification for actions of dubious legitimacy.

UNESCO's purpose is to contribute through education, science and culture to international understanding and co-operation in order to maintain harmony and peace among nations, so you will therefore understand why it has been concerned, since its foundation, with the problems of social communication and information throughout the world, and why for years, it has been the centre where initiatives in this field have emerged or developed.

Under its constitution, one of UNESCO's major aims is also the promotion of "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and... the free exchange of ideas and knowledge," and UNESCO has the task of encouraging "the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication."

UNESCO's action therefore takes several forms. In this speech, however, I should like to choose only the one that concerns the problems of messages disseminated by the mass media, although the problems raised by computers and scientific and technological information are also of major importance.

A more thoroughgoing approach to the problems of the worldwide flow of information was adopted by UNESCO in the 1960s, with the growing and increasingly active participation in its deliberations of the Third World countries, most of which had just gained their independence.

'Free and Balanced Flow of Information'

In 1974, at the 18th. session of the UNESCO general conference, the concept of a "free and balanced flow of information" was incorporated in UNESCO's program, and the director-general was authorized "to facilitate the two-way flow of news through cooperative measures, and in particular by promoting regional news agencies."

At the same session, the general conference decided to include a regional Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean, similar to the conferences that were already a part of the program for education, science and

culture. This conference took place in San Jose, Costa Rica, in 1976. The participants were unanimous in recommending, *inter alia*, that "to compensate the existing imbalance and promote the advent of a true world equilibrium among generators of news, a Latin American and Caribbean news agency, or a consortium of agencies [should be established] in the region."

In Nairobi, in 1976, the general conference approved the Medium-Term Plan (1977-1982) of the organization, which stated that "the highest priority should be given to measures aiming at reducing the communication gap existing between the developed and the developing countries and at achieving a freer and more balanced international flow of information."

The general conference also instructed me to review all the problems of communication in modern society in the light of technological advances and of the full complexity and breadth of recent developments in international relations. To do this, I thought it best to set up a working and study group composed of distinguished and highly qualified persons from varied backgrounds. I accordingly formed the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, which was chaired by Mr. Sean MacBride.

The concept of a new information order has continued to develop, together with that of a new international order... To work towards this, new institutions have been set up such as the Intergovernmental Council of the Non-Aligned Countries for Co-ordination of Information; the Press Agency Pool of the Non-Aligned Countries and the Conference and the Committee on Co-operation among Broadcasting Corporations of Non-Aligned Countries.

Within UNESCO, the general conference at its twentieth session, held in Paris in November 1978, laid down more specific guidelines on communication problems. It had before it, firstly, the Draft Program and Budget for 1979-1980 and the Interim Report of the International Commission that I had set up after the Nairobi Conference and, secondly, the Draft "Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war."

In the program resolution that it adopted, the general conference:

> "Recalling the concern caused throughout the world by the imbalances and inequalities to be found today in the produc-

tion, dissemination and exchange of information, both within countries and between countries and regions, whereas the progress achieved by the communication media should enable all peoples to give expression to the way they see their own position and that of the international community of which they form a part,"

invited the director-general,

"to assign high priority to measures likely to reduce inequalities and imbalances in communication, both within countries and between different groups of countries and in particular between developed and developing countries, especially by helping the latter to organize exchanges of information, under satisfactory conditions, between themselves and the developed countries, and thereby promote a free flow and a wider and better balanced exchange of information between the different regions of the world."

The general conference also adopted two other resolutions concerning the flow of information and international exchanges. In one of these, it invited the director-general,

"(a) to promote research related to international communication structures;
(b) to assist in identifying and overcoming obstacles to a free flow and a wider and better balanced exchange of information between the different regions of the world;
(c) to encourage, as far as possible, the adoption, at the national and international levels, of measures designed to reduce imbalances in communication and the flow of information, particularly in the spirit of the programme drawn up by the organs established by the non-aligned countries."

In the second resolution, the general conference,

"Reaffirming the manifest need to end the dependence of the developing world in the sphere of information and communication,
Considering that the imbalance in information flows is becoming increasingly marked at the international level despite the development of communication infrastructures";

declaring itself aware that the present communication order in the world is far from satisfactory, endorsed efforts to establish a new,

more just and more balanced world information and communication order. It invited the director-general to continue his efforts with a view to the establishment of this new order, entailing in particular the promotion of national systems in developing countries and the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information.

The declaration on fundamental principles, adopted by consensus after lengthy consultations, may also be regarded as a contribution of the highest importance to preparing people for the advent of a new information order, to which it makes explicit reference.

It brings out some of the essential conditions of this new order, namely multiple sources of information; free flow and balanced and reciprocal circulation of news; freedom of journalists; and the moral responsibility of the information media towards the great ideals on which human solidarity and world peace are based.

Bringing about this new order should help to make voices heard other than those few voices that are heard today almost exclusively throughout the world, and should enable all regions of all nations to speak to each other.

A New Order Requires Ideal of Equity

This is a need that stems from an ideal of equity, without which no new order is possible. Far from jeopardizing freedom of information, the ideal presupposes, on the contrary, a new breadth and depth in that freedom, since it calls for an increase in the number of sources: in other words, *bona fide* pluralism on a world scale.

This need implies another: the need to ensure that the purveyors of information act responsibly, by making them aware of the tremendous weight that their words carry and of the role that their words can play, especially in the interaction between viewpoints throughout the world. There is no question whatsoever of subjecting them to the slightest censorship, or even to any restriction; the aim is to highlight the ethical implications of their exalted vocation.

Whatever their views, religious beliefs or ideology, they have a moral duty to work, through this vocation of theirs to promote the principles that are the *sine qua non* of all social coexistence on a world scale. These principles, which have evolved over the centuries through the immense struggle of peoples all over the world against

arbitrariness and injustice, have their origin in respect for the individual and collective rights of all persons without discrimination on grounds of race, colour, sex or class. They also presuppose respect for the dignity and sovereignty of all peoples and all nations, whatever their size, wealth or power, and of all cultures, all forms of wisdom and all systems of values, regarded as equally irreplaceable contributions to the heritage of mankind as a whole.

These are categorical imperatives, and unless they are obeyed there can be neither peace nor co-operation among men.

They explain the action that the Third World countries have taken. These consider, and with some justification, that in present circumstances, it is information put together in, and sent out from, the industrialized countries that is thrust wholesale on the rest of the world.

The major news agencies are in fact concentrated in the industrialized countries, and these control the most sophisticated distribution techniques and facilities, command the widest range of radio frequencies, and enjoy the privilege of being able to send dispatches to other countries very cheaply and to produce programs of all kinds in a way which ensures that they have an almost absolute predominance.

With regard to content, the mass media of these countries tend, in the opinion of the Third World countries, to emphasize points of view, areas of interest, types of question and ways of presenting the facts, which all reflect the values of the culture in which they originate.

Priority Is Given to Shock-Value News

The information that they put out gives special prominence to events for their shock value – to news likely to rouse the public's interest through surprise, or sometimes provocation, or even scandal. When covering current affairs in the Third World, for example, they seldom probe deeply into the problems arising there, and only occasionally seek to show them in a true light or to discover the real hopes and disappointments of those who are grappling with them.

They measure success and failure, advances and setbacks, by their own criteria, without reference to the history of the peoples concerned, disregarding the constraints that weigh upon them as a result of the present world order. Their attention is more easily drawn to sensational disasters or to the witticisms of some

publicity-seeking leader than to the desperate efforts of whole peoples to escape from the crushing poverty that afflicts so many of them. They mete out praise or blame according to whether those concerned share their point of view or reject it. They state facts without any explanation and thus perpetuate prejudices that date back to colonial times.

This state of affairs is all the more deplorable for the countries of the Third World because most of them obtain information about their own problems only through mass media located elsewhere. In their view, this leads not only to a distortion of the facts, but in many cases to their having a false image of one another. They feel these media at the same time to be instrumental in poisoning relations between "developed" and "developing" countries.

A good many of these grievances are probably arguable, but they deserve careful scrutiny and, above all, the situations that give rise to them need to be rectified. UNESCO is striving to contribute to this.

The principal path to genuine change is through the establishment and consolidation, in the countries of the Third World, of communication media reflecting the questions that the Third World raises and the solutions that it arrives at, both to its own problems and to those of the world community as a whole.

By this means, the flows of mass information will cease to be one-way, and reciprocal channels will be established through which the industrialized nations will be able to hear the rest of the world, and the world as a whole will be able to listen directly to its many voices, free to speak out at last.

Ultimately, the problem of information, as UNESCO sees it and deals with it in practice, hinges on one cardinal concept – that of the right to communicate. Communication must be based on diversity of sources and freedom of circulation, open to all and inspired by the ideals of peace, mutual respect and solidarity among men and among nations.

The organization's practical efforts to achieve this concentrate, quite naturally, on the development of communication media in general, and on the flow of information in particular, in regions which have hitherto been least privileged in this respect.

For this reason, the general conference at its twentieth session invited the director-general, firstly,

> "to co-operate with member states, especially the developing countries, with a view to helping them to build up their infra-

structures and train their personnel in the field of communication so as to be able to make full use of the opportunities afforded by the communication media for promoting wider participation in cultural life, educational progress, the establishment of science and technology, and overall development";

and secondly,

"to intensify and encourage communications development and to hold consultations designed to lead to the provision to developing countries of technological and other means for promoting a free flow and a wider and better balanced exchange of information of all kinds."

We are living in stirring times, when the peoples of the world are becoming aware of the need to change the rules of a conflict-ridden international system – and when they are still seeking to blaze the trail towards a new order, based on justice, solidarity and brotherly mutual appreciation.

The outcome will depend on what each of these peoples does in coming years to assert its own ambitions, while showing consideration for those of others and contributing to the solution of regional and world-wide problems, in a frame of mind that sets the shared interests of mankind above the narrow ambitions which tear it apart.

A Suitable Case for Bashing

UNESCO's Job Is to Promote Literacy, Not Dilute Press Freedom

From THE ECONOMIST*

"Stop this UNESCO-bashing," Mr. Sean MacBride recently told the guardians of press freedom from the International Press Institute in Florence. Europeans in particular, he scolded, are obsessed with the notion that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization is the enemy of a free press.

If they are, it is for good reason. One is Mr. MacBride's own report on communications problems, delivered to UNESCO in November. Another is the new organization set up at UNESCO in Paris to help poorer countries develop their means of communication.

Maybe this new body can turn into a useful clearing house for technical information and the training of journalists. That is the faint hope of Britain, the United States and some other countries which, after eight days of wrangling, grudgingly approved it but did not agree to give it money. The danger is that the so-called "mechanism," which is to be controlled by UNESCO's bureaucrats, will become a vehicle for the Third World to press its demands for a "new world information order." This could mean restrictions not only on international news gathering but on all forms of communications.

The MacBride Report is more disturbing. Although the massive bulk of its almost impenetrable prose is still unpublished, its main proposals have been made known. These include advice to journalists to foster peace and brotherhood (meaning no bad news, please) and to respect a country's development policies and cultural

*This editorial appeared May 10, 1980, in The Economist.

identity (which could mean almost anything). They also recommend that in developing countries preference should be given to the non-commercial press (meaning more government control). At Florence Mr. MacBride acknowledged that only 40-45 countries enjoy anything like a free press. But he would not concede that these are the very countries where the press is "commercial."

Much will be heard of both the MacBride Report and the development "mechanism" at UNESCO's general conference in Belgrade this autumn. So the 10-year battle to prevent UNESCO endorsing curbs on journalists will have to be fought all over again. UNESCO should concentrate on preserving monuments and curing illiteracy instead of helping the press-crushers.

Cooperate – But Not at the Expense of Our Principles

By HAROLD W. ANDERSEN*

NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS and editors represented in the World Press Freedom Committee are deeply concerned about the effort by some UNESCO member states – with the encouragement of some of the UNESCO administration – to create a "new international information order" under which governments would exert decisive influence – if not outright control – over news media within their borders.

Under this concept of the "proper role" of the news media, such governmental influence or control would extend not only over domestic news media but also to correspondents from other countries and the international news agencies.

The press of the free world simply will never accept this kind of international policy. For such a policy to continue to be promoted within UNESCO is divisive and, in our opinion, can distract UNESCO's attention from other serious international problems which it can more effectively and appropriately address.

This is not to say that we feel the United Nations has no proper interest in international communication matters. Quite the contrary. The United Nations can effectively encourage communications development and a freer flow of information across international boundaries.

We who are resisting efforts to impose government control over the news media are working – and will continue to work – with

*Harold W. Andersen is president of the Omaha (Neb.) World-Herald; past chairman of the American Newspaper Publishers Association; immediate past president of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, and chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee.

any organization sincerely interested in the training of journalists from developing countries and the development of communications technology within those countries. We stand ready to work with the United Nations in doing these things.

But we will continue to resist as vigorously as we can any effort, within or outside the United Nations structure, to advance policies which encourage government influence over, or control of, the news media.

We believe that more stable relations between nations result when nations better understand each other. Better understanding flows from better communication. And, surely, better communication between nations can result from the efforts of news media who are free to report, fully and objectively, news throughout the world.

I have been a member of journalistic groups which have met twice with UNESCO Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow during his visits to the United States.

We had a friendly and frank exchange of views and I felt he understood the difficulty of reconciling free-press and controlled-press philosophies.

I was impressed with his feeling that, despite these difficulties, UNESCO could develop a broadly-supported consensus on communication policy.

I must add, however, that since our last meeting with Director-General M'Bow, I have read the speech he gave at the University of Bujumbura in Burundi February 5, 1980, on the subject of "UNESCO and Communications in the Modern World."

In this address, Mr. M'Bow dealt at length on the familiar litany of complaints which Third World countries continue to direct at international news agencies and the mass media of, to use Mr. M'Bow's description, "the industrialized countries."

In certain of his remarks Mr. M'Bow attributes the complaints to Third World countries. In other portions of his remarks, the allegations were not clearly attributed to others.

Most of UNESCO's Complaints Are Untrue

In any case, continued repetition of these allegations of journalistic irresponsibility certainly does nothing to encourage the mass media of "the industrialized countries" to have confidence in UNESCO's objectivity and credibility. In our opinion, many of the familiar

complaints are simply untrue. They are repeated incessantly and seem to us to be based on emotion rather than documentation.

The news media of the developed countries are sincerely interested in doing a more comprehensive job of reporting news from the developing countries of the world. They also are very willing to help these countries develop their own national and regional news agencies. To do this more comprehensive job, our news media need access to developing countries – the right to report freely and fully the news of these countries.

It is ironic that much of the criticism of the performance of international news agencies and the mass media in developed countries comes from Third World countries with authoritarian governments which forbid or restrict access by news correspondents and which give their people only the news which the government wants them to have.

Certainly we in the World Press Freedom Committee are most willing to work within the United Nations framework (as well as through other avenues) to help developing countries build stronger communications systems, so long as these efforts do not compromise our most fundamental principles; i.e., our belief in freedom of the press and free access to all sources of news.

We were pleased that U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, in his address to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in Honolulu, included these words:

> "Fortunately a free press – which in my view is the most valuable press – although it can occasionally be capricious, in the end makes a constructive contribution to the solution of most serious problems, because it searches for the truth. It seems to me that the Fourth Estate has, in recent years, shown a creditable record of judgment, responsibility and not infrequently of leadership, on essential issues."

We applaud his support of freedom of the press and very much appreciate the interest which he has taken in our position that UNESCO's activities in the communications field should be positive rather than, however inadvertently, divisive.

New World Information Order: A Bad Idea that Refuses to Die

By LEONARD H. MARKS

SIX YEARS AGO self-appointed spokesmen for the Third World announced that a New World Information Order was needed to achieve the economic reforms that were being advocated in international forums.

To bring the NWIO into existence, they proposed more national news agencies and a non-aligned news pool to replace the Western international news organizations which they accused of biased reporting and an unwillingness to report social and economic progress of the developing world. Significantly, their attacks were not directed against TASS or Communist-dominated news services.

At times, the rhetoric on the NWIO has been flamboyant, but the achievements have been less dramatic.

When the non-aligned nations met in Havana last September, they endorsed the creation of a news pool which would supply its subscribers with "objective reports" on their constructive achievements. But subscribers have found that the self-congratulatory press releases prepared by the information ministries were not what they wanted and that Western news agencies were still needed to report world events.

Similarly, many new national news agencies have been established, but they supplement, rather than replace, the wire services.

When the NWIO had been debated at international forums such as UNESCO and the U.N. General Assembly, Western spokesmen pointed out that, although they did not agree with the attacks

*Prominent Washington, D.C., attorney and secretary-treasurer of the World Press Freedom Committee.

made on their integrity, they were sympathetic to the need for a greater awareness by the press of developing nations' aspirations. Recently, the International Herald Tribune in Paris commented:

> Many Western editors took pains to be frank in self-criticism and to work toward goals discussed at international forums. There were some positive results. Eminent Third World journalists came forward with workable ideas. They contributed articles expressing different viewpoints. Some national news agencies have raised their standards, providing an improved source of information for international agencies to relay around the world.

But the NWIO spokesmen really are not concerned as much with an improvement in communications; what they want is to control communications and to suppress embarrassing information. For this reason, from the outset, a key provision of the NWIO proposal was that "states (rather than private organizations) are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction."

The Main Battle Will Be in Belgrade

After six years of skirmishes before UNESCO, the main battle will take place this fall in Belgrade when the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems, headed by Sean MacBride, delivers its report. Although the report contains positive statements in support of a free press and a condemnation of censorship, there are significant flags of real danger.

The report specifically condemns the multiple ownership of newspapers and flirts with the idea of a code of ethics for journalists. To this end, it also suggests consideration of an institute to train journalists throughout the world according to UNESCO concepts. Several of the recommendations characterized advertising as an evil and urge the introduction of guidelines with respect to advertising content.

Significantly, not all developing nations support the attacks made on a free press, nor do they advocate the control of their media by government. But, stung by criticism of their political and economic failures, some in the Third World will want to hang the messenger for reporting the bad news and hope that this action will bring only good news in the future.

There is cause for alarm. The New World Information Order may not have achieved any great success, but it is far from dead.

Too Many of the Proposals Undermine Pursuit of Truth

By JERRY W. FRIEDHEIM*

A MAJOR AIM of UNESCO, in seeking ways to improve communications within developing countries and among nations worldwide, is to promote, in the words of the UNESCO constitution, "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and... the free exchange of ideas and knowledge."

This is a noble goal shared by many organizations, including the American Newspaper Publishers Association. ANPA is a nonprofit trade association whose more than 1,370 member newspapers account for more than 90 percent of U.S. daily and Sunday newspaper circulation and more than 85 percent of Canadian daily circulation.

ANPA regularly cooperates with many organizations which enjoy "non-governmental organization" status with UNESCO, and ANPA is represented on the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. We continue to be interested in cooperative efforts with journalists worldwide to improve both technical capabilities and professionalism. ANPA strives, as our by-laws state, "to advance the cause of a free press" and "promote the highest standards of journalism."

ANPA has watched UNESCO activities with interest over recent years. We are particularly interested in the report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, chaired by Sean MacBride.

We will not attempt to address each of the 82 specific recommendations of the commission, but we do want to share some of our

*Jerry W. Friedheim, executive vice president and general manager of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, has followed intently in the last four years developments in UNESCO affecting global media.

views as UNESCO moves toward its 21st general conference this fall in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

While we find segments of the report encouraging, we are troubled by others and would strongly oppose implementation of some concepts we believe would undermine press freedom.

ANPA welcomes the commission's recommendations supporting abolition of censorship and the importance of free access to news sources – including non-governmental sources, as well as official government spokespersons.

And we welcome those of the commission's recommendations which are aimed toward expanding information availability. Today's real communications problems stem primarily from a lack of information for broad segments of the world's population, and from the need for more information for everyone.

UNESCO should seek methods for facilitating both the expansion of communications ability worldwide and the accessibility of all people to a broad choice among information sources.

Lowering communications costs should be a prominent goal of UNESCO. Individuals need increased and affordable access to efficient postal service, to telephone and telegraph communications, to a variety of mass information media, including multiple broadcast channels and to a choice among daily and weekly newspapers, magazines, books and other media. Economics is as important as technology in communications building. Consensus action among UNESCO's 149 member states could achieve much.

ANPA may be able to help on a number of consensus programs on which UNESCO may embark in future years. We are, for instance, cooperating with UNESCO and the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) in preparation for a rural press seminar in Nairobi, Kenya.

There may be broader and more important cooperative action we can take in the future. For example, world supplies of paper and newsprint promise to grow scarcer during future years, as mentioned in the commission's report.

ANPA is researching the potential for making newsprint from kenaf – a rapidly renewable crop which grows well in many parts of the world. Our preliminary tests indicate kenaf might one day produce significantly more newsprint per acre than do trees.

Another example may be to share at some future time the experience of the ANPA Foundation, which long has encouraged local "Newspaper in Education" programs in which newspapers are used

as teaching tools in schools. We mention this specially because of an addition to Recommendation 15 in the April version of the report's Part V which says:

> "... education systems should prepare young people for communication activities. Introduction of pupils at primary and secondary levels to the forms and uses of the means of communication (how to read newspapers, evaluate radio and television programs, use elementary audio-visual techniques and apparatus) should permit the young to understand reality better and enrich their knowledge of current affairs and problems."

As we read the commission's report, we know there is concern that situations in developing nations are not "fully and fairly" reported in the industrialized nations. These concerns appear primarily to be that too little information is reported about how developing nations are dealing with their problems.

Condensing information into available wire service time, newspaper space or broadcast time – and finally into the available time of each reader or listener – is what editing is all about. We should all be encouraged with the speed with which communications is shrinking our world.

Today, readers and listeners worldwide are realizing that what happens on the other side of the world affects them just as do events in their home communities.

By helping to build communications systems, reduce costs of all forms of communications, and expand the choices among information sources for all people, UNESCO also will foster further recognition that events all over the world affect daily life everywhere. People everywhere are going to want more information and editors will find ways of providing it.

It is apparent from the work of the commission, composed of 16 people appointed to represent various world viewpoints, that widely divergent views exist on communications issues, including the handling of news and information.

Action Should Be Based on Broad Consensus

In the past, UNESCO has recognized the range of significant and basic differences between societies and has avoided placing itself

in a position of having to choose between contradictory ideologies. The cause of effective international cooperation has been well served by previous policies of UNESCO action only by consensus, and we urge that UNESCO hold to this course now.

Action on the recommendations enjoying broad consensus support is, in our view, the course of wisdom. Attempts to force action in controversial situations would only serve to undermine the international cooperation UNESCO was formed to encourage.

ANPA believes strongly that the personal freedoms of individuals are best assured through a strong, free press operating completely separate from government. We believe the press should be able to gather and report news and information in a completely objective manner without government controls and without the burden of having to judge events and situations so as to report on them in such a way as to foster "improvements" or "corrections."

Our experience has been that when government officials, even those elected in a democratic process, control news reporting there is an overwhelming human tendency to portray the government and its actions favorably and to discredit opposing viewpoints.

Similarly, when journalists are required to include in their reports elements of contribution toward specific goals – regardless how laudable – those who enforce or critique the journalists' activities must judge whether specific reports make the desired contribution. The result in both these cases is the antithesis of "unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and... the free exchange of ideas and knowledge."

Thus, ANPA sincerely is concerned with not only a number of suggestions in the commission's report, but with much of its general tone and tenor. Upon reading the report, one feels that even in cases where sentences are carefully constructed so as not to be arguable, that the drafters of the report nonetheless carried a bias against private enterprise and in favor of government controls on the press.

We fear that much of the report will encourage national government officials seeking to control the press in their own personal interest. We are even concerned over the suggestion – which seems to underlie much of the report – that the media should be enlisted in "just" causes.

The Question of Responsibility

The report stresses the importance of responsibility in news

reporting –a point which concerns those within the press as well as those outside it.

Voluntary codes of ethics have been drawn by many journalist groups in many societies in an effort to provide guidance for their peers when faced by difficult professional situations. We are encouraged that, although the commission urges adoption of codes of ethics, it does so only when the codes are developed voluntarily "by the profession itself – without government interference."

Codes or no codes, there is constant and on-going dialogue within journalism communities which demonstrates the desire on the part of all journalists to handle their very special and important duties in a responsible manner. Constructive criticism is valuable for all journalists. Non-journalists should engage in the dialogue which helps all journalists in their efforts to gain respect as professionals: to be "responsible journalists."

Difficulty comes when the step beyond criticism and toward "correction" is taken. Whether this action comes from governments, from journalism groups, or elsewhere, this step requires a judgment as to whether a specific report is "responsible."

ANPA believes no one should exercise that power other than the editors and publishers responsible for the specific report in question. The best assurance that journalists will be responsible is the fostering of a climate in which free discussion and constructive criticism may take place freely. Any person or group of persons with power to define "responsibility," "objectivity" or "truth" accedes to power to control media content.

ANPA agrees with the opening statement in the report's section on "responsibility of journalists," that "in the absence of freedom there can be no exercise of responsibility."

We are distressed by the suggestion that in the framework of journalists' self-respect and integrity "a distinction may have to be drawn between media institutions, owners and managers on the one hand, and journalists on the other." The owners and managers of ANPA member newspapers consider themselves to be working within the journalism community. They share with their employees the sense of responsibility so critical to their calling.

ANPA opposes the concept of "right of reply and correction." In our society, newspapers and broadcast media make available space and time to non-journalists with thought-provoking viewpoints, and also act to correct previous reports when necessary.

It is editors and publishers who should decide when a correc-

tion is required and which viewpoints are sufficiently thought-provoking to merit space or time. It is their job to build the information package which is a newspaper or a broadcast program; to take from the proliferation of available information that which is most meaningful for the reader or listener.

The Most Important Factor: the Reader

The most important element of a newspaper is not the owner, or editor, or the paper or ink, but the reader. Every editor tries to select information based on what his research and experience tell him the reader is interested in reading.

Our fear is that further study by UNESCO of a "right of reply" will only lend impetus to proposals that someone other than editors and publishers decide newspaper or broadcast content.

Such proposals, if placed in effect, would simply chase readers away from newspapers, because the emphasis would stop being placed on what the reader wants to read and would be placed instead on what someone, perhaps a government official, believes the reader ought to read. ANPA believes UNESCO would be wise to end this self-defeating approach.

Similarly, ANPA also is concerned with the report's list of "issues requiring further study."

ANPA especially opposes any efforts to license journalists in the guise of offering them protection, and we oppose establishment of any form of tax on information.

Again, we feel that continuing discussions of such controversial topics in the UNESCO forum may only lend encouragement to those who would control the media and that no constructive conclusions would be reached.

It would be more constructive for UNESCO to spend its resources on those recommendations within the commission's report for which a consensus viewpoint appears at Belgrade.

In addition to communications issues involving the relationship between journalists and government officials, there are economic issues. If the government runs the press, it uses tax revenues to fund mass media operations. If the government and the press are separated, the media must have a sound financial base rooted in non-governmental sources. In the newspaper business, non-governmental revenue comes primarily from advertising and from subscriptions paid by readers.

Few publications can sell their product at a price high enough to sustain its operations without advertising.

ANPA is concerned that the commission's report contains language which tends to disparage commercial advertising. ANPA member newspapers are far more comfortable depending on revenues from a large number of advertisers – no single one of which is able to control news and information content – than they would be if forced to depend upon financing from government as a single source.

We also oppose the suggestion that "effective legal measures" be designed to limit "concentrations and monopolization" and to "circumscribe the action of transnationals" by requiring them to comply with "national legislation and developmental policies."

If UNESCO genuinely is concerned about "greater independence and autonomy of the media concerning their management and editorial policy," it will discourage restrictive legal measures and national legislation.

Government itself is a monopoly within each nation and the greatest concentration and monopolization exist in countries in which the government runs the press. International corporations already are required to observe the laws in each nation in which they operate. More government regulation on the press only serves to bring governments closer to controlling media content.

Here again, we believe that to best contribute to "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and. . . the free exchange of ideas and knowledge," UNESCO should put aside proposals geared toward media control and concentrate its resources on consensus programs to improve communications capabilities worldwide.

ANPA is concerned that the April intergovernmental conference in Paris apparently endorsed the report recommendation for establishment of an International Center for the Study and Planning of Information and Communication.

Our judgment is that UNESCO does not need another level of bureaucracy. The resources used by this new bureaucratic layer necessarily will come from those which otherwise might be used directly for communications building.

The world's resources are scarce. Improving communications requires considerable expense. The proposed international center, we fear, will not be able to concentrate resources and use them most efficiently.

We do not know where UNESCO could find funding for such a center, but we do know that all available funding should go to the

consensus programs for communications building which UNESCO already has the capability to foster within its existing structure.

In closing, we stress that ANPA will cooperate with UNESCO and all others in fostering the achievement of common goals. We will continue to oppose actions which appear destined to undermine "the cause of a free press, the highest standards of journalism," or "the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and... the free exchange of ideas and knowledge."

MacBride Report Prescribes Peril Instead of Protection

By TINA S. HILLS*

PRESS FREEDOM does not exist or is on the decline in most of the world today.

A growing number of nations, led by Socialist and Third World countries, does not share our concept of a free press and the free flow of information.

They want to substitute a "New World Information Order" that would put governments in control of media.

A few years ago, we were told that computers, satellites, faster transportation and all the new communications technology would increase understanding and promote world peace.

The opposite is happening. Information around the world, even in many Western countries, is being regulated as never before. This trend threatens our cherished freedoms more than some of the worrisome developments in our own country.

Possibly because the United States now dominates the technology of information, not many Americans are aware of the dangers, or the resentment of this dominance by much of the rest of the world.

One arena of world conflict in 1980 could well be the war to control information.

A frustrating aspect of the problem, and one of the hardest to deal with, is that the press is becoming the victim as well as the beneficiary of the new communications technology.

---

*Tina S. Hills, president and editor of El Mundo, San Juan, Puerto Rico, is chairwoman of the Committee on International Communications of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. She gave this report to a meeting of her committee in Washington, D.C., in April, 1980.

Our friends in Europe and Canada are worried about the economic impact of a free flow of information and are taking steps to regulate the transmission of commercial, private and governmental data.

These controls don't seem to be aimed at news, but they could include news unless we work out problems with our allies in developed countries.

They realize that information is a powerful commodity and some are saying that it is a commercial instrument to serve the interests of multinational corporations.

And since we are leaders in the fields of computer systems and satellite telecommunications, even our friends fear our control over information which can be moved swiftly and in huge amounts to help industry and government. Peter Hirschberg in the Washington Journalism Review highlights this problem and quotes Senator George McGovern as saying:

> "One way to attack a nation such as the United States which depends heavily on information and communications is to restrain the flow of information."

These disturbing developments have come very quickly. Ironically, the attack on the Western ideal of an open information society surfaced in the United Nations agency which was established to foster understanding, promote peace, and overcome poverty and illiteracy through education, science and culture – UNESCO.

That noble purpose now is overshadowed by UNESCO's drive to legitimize government curbs on the free flow of information.

The concept of media control has the blessing of the UNESCO leaders and secretariat. They have arrayed themselves on this issue against the Western nations which supply most of UNESCO's financing.

A Showdown Approaches Rapidly

The Soviet-inspired proposal for state-controlled media was spotted on the UNESCO agenda in 1976. It shook the Free World press into realizing that it had serious problems.

Since then, the 33 affiliates of the World Press Freedom Committee (including ASNE) and active individual groups such as IPI and

IAPA have been represented at 11 conferences in nine countries, opposing the idea.

The next showdown will come at the 21st General Conference of UNESCO in Belgrade beginning September 23, preceded by UNESCO conferences on communications in the Cameroons and Caracas.

The two major challenges at Belgrade will be:

- The MacBride Commission Report based on a two-year study of global communications, and
- The so-called New Information Order, sparked by non-aligned nations. This is not yet fully defined but we do know it contains unacceptable elements eliminated from the MacBride Report.

These documents, plus some 50 amendments and dissenting opinions (including one by Sean MacBride himself), are loaded with proposals to change world communications.

MacBride, the Irish statesman, told a group of us in Toronto last fall that he agrees with most of the Free World positions. But he is adamant on "protection of journalists," which sounds great but would provide controls over newsmen.

We can thank Elie Abel, as the lone U.S. representative on the 16-member commission, for helping to moderate the report.

Published in March, the report is generally favorable to ideals held dear by the free press. It opposes censorship and favors free access to news. The Soviet Union was the only nation to oppose these recommendations.

Yet MacBride's final offering contains proposals which could jeopardize the freedoms it purports to protect. The most dangerous is a suggested international institute at UNESCO to monitor and oversee development of global communications. A government-financed agency should not decide the future of the media.

Some Governments Reward... Or Punish...the Press

Press freedom has advanced in Spain, Portugal, Nigeria and a few other countries, but more of the signs are ominous.

Control of the press through licensing of journalists is spreading in the Western Hemisphere. It now exists in Nicaragua, Chile,

Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Haiti and, of course, Cuba. This is strictly a closed shop. In Nicaragua, the Journalists Union decides who can and cannot be a journalist. In Costa Rica, you must attend the government-operated journalism school to qualify.

Newsprint cutoff or rationing is another method. And Argentina now taxes imported newsprint 45%, bringing the price to nearly $800 a ton which, along with a soaring inflation, may force some papers to suspend.

In nations where governments control advertising by owning industry, still another way is found to reward or punish the press.

The explosive, unstable situations in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala make it difficult to publish freely. The same tensions – born of poverty, overpopulation and archaic governments – are disrupting parts of the Caribbean.

Harold Andersen, head of FIEJ (International Federation of Newspaper Publishers) and chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee, and many of us acknowledge there is some validity to Third World complaints of press coverage. This will always be true. But we cannot go along with the idea that information must be controlled so that the "news" always serves the interest of the state.

Perhaps never have we been so overwhelmed by challenges to our concept of a free press.

The battle lines are drawn. We should keep ourselves fully informed and support those individuals and organizations whose efforts on our behalf are dedicated to maintaining a free flow of information at all levels.

Democratizing the Media Means State Control

By JAMES B. CANEL*

PART FIVE OF the MacBride Commission Report summarizing the recommendations is encouraging in part, but overall depressing.

Along with the fine pronouncements about freedom of information, there are disturbing suggestions that open the doors to increased government control.

This is what initially alarmed us about the UNESCO conference in San Jose, Costa Rica, in 1976 – an insistence on establishment of national communications policies.

Governments establish policies through legislation or executive order, or, in case of authoritarian governments, through decree.

The report says it is of "utmost importance" to democratize communications at the national and international levels. What does this mean?

In El Salvador they have talked of "democratizing" the media. It sounds fine in some ears, but all it means is state control. This, ostensibly, is what Peru wanted to do when it seized the leading Lima dailies in 1974.

Reference is made to the use of the media for development. All this means is that the media should go along with official development schemes, no matter how. Developmental journalism has never been defined properly.

---

*James B. Canel was for nearly 20 years the general manager of the Inter American Press Association. He attended five significant UNESCO conferences in the last four years. He recently retired. His successor is Ruy Barbosa of O Estado in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

The report would involve the media in the preservation of "cultural identity" as part of a national policy – presumably involving legislation to curtail or control outside influences. In this respect, suggestions are also made for controlling the "negative effects" of advertising.

The report gives indirect approval to professionalization of journalists. The implication is licensing.

There are many other similar concepts and ideas. The most dangerous suggestion, however, is establishment of an International Center for the Study and Planning of Information and Communication. This could become an international press council with who knows what powers of intimidation. There should be warning flags raised all around this proposal.

If there is anything positive to come out of the UNESCO proposal, it has been to draw attention to the weaknesses in Western reporting of international events.

Those weaknesses do exist. As a result, I think Western wire services and the large U.S. newspapers are trying to improve their reporting of international events, particularly from the Third World.

An Ambiguity of Attitude Toward Freedom of Information

By ROSEMARY RIGHTER*

A YEAR AGO I met an old man in the slums of Tondo, in Manila. He had a job. Every day he salvaged copies of the newspapers from rubbish dumps. With the help of a dictionary which he had also found in the dumps, he read them. And each evening, for a tiny payment, he passed on the news to his neighbors. I asked him what news he found in the tightly-controlled Philippine press. He thought me pretty innocent. "It's simple," he said. "Every day I read the articles carefully, looking up the words I don't know. And then I turn them inside out and I tell my friends what is really happening."

No story tells the whole truth. But if we are serious about improving the circulation of news in developing countries, and from them to other countries, we must bear that old man in mind. He warns us for a start to be skeptical about the MacBride Report's assertion that people are passive victims of the media. And he warns us against grand statements such as the report's assertion that communication should be, I quote, "an instrument for creating awareness of national priorities." I believe that the didactic, the paternalistic, tone of much of the MacBride Report does the newscaster of Tondo and his audience less than honor.

I shall certainly not be fair to this enormous report in a few minutes; when it finally emerges from UNESCO's basements, I do

*Mrs. Righter is a reporter for The Sunday Times in London and an expert on Third World subjects, particularly the press. She has followed UNESCO media developments closely. Her most recent book – *Whose News?* – reviews the present communication conflict. Her recent talk on the subject before the International Press Institute in Florence is reproduced here.

urge you to read it, although I wish it had adopted one of its own recommendations, which advised governments to use "non-technical language and comprehensible symbols" in dealing with communications. It is fabulously obscure; but what matters is not so much its impenetrable language as the ambiguity of its attitude to freedom of information.

Put very crudely – and therefore, of course, being guilty of distortion – the central message of the report seems to me to be this: journalists must be free – free to behave responsibly, and behaving responsibly means supporting national development, respecting national sovereignty and promoting just causes like disarmament and liberation movements.

It discusses what it describes as progress toward a new world information order. It is rightly disturbed by the disparities between the rich and poor worlds. Yet in nearly 150,000 words it fails to say clearly that in the list of demands which make up the new world information order what is missing is the very concept of press freedom.

Report Sharpens Rather Than Resolves The Controversy

True, the report condemns censorship, upholds the "principle of freedom," and says that journalists must have access to sources of news. But on the practice of freedom – what journalists do with the news once they have got it – the commission has been less straightforward. Obviously journalists have responsibilities, but must they be expected to judge whether or not their reporting will promote friendly relations between states, or foster cultural identity, or enhance the dignity of nations and peoples? The report is much concerned about the power of the press: how much greater is that power when journalists are expected to suppress information? The report has sharpened rather than resolved the controversy behind the Declaration on the Media.

The commission could not have been expected to resolve the dichotomy between two approaches to information. But, for all its welcome references to pluralism, its very first recommendation is that nations should formulate "comprehensive communication policies," and that these should, I quote, be "linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals." The implication of this crucial phrase is clear: the content of communication, including news,

should be subject to national planning, subordinated to national policy, used to fulfill "political goals." One of the commisssion's members, among the minority which fought to enlarge freedoms rather than to regulate their exercise, warned his colleagues that state coordination would mean state control. The report treats this warning lightly.

Again, the commission says that journalists should not be controlled. Yet Recommendation 58 says that "Effective legal measures should be designed to... circumscribe the action of transnationals" (Unescoese for news agencies) "by requiring them to comply with specific criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and development policies." This recommendation comes in a paragraph which is quite explicitly concerned not with IBM but with the press. And it is incompatible with free reporting.

Many people have said to me that this is a rather good report. What they mean is that it is much better than the Interim Report, and that it has stopped short of advocating things like special measures for the protection of journalists or international codes of ethics. This is true, or nearly true, but it is also irrelevant. What matters is what hostages the final report gives to the governments which will be invited to consider it. And this is why it was vital that it should be wholly unambiguous on crucial issues.

This it is not. Part V of the report, the final section which contains the recommendations, has a Part B, headed "Issues for Further Study." This section did not exist when the commission was formally dissolved last November. (Mr. MacBride tells me that it did, but, if so, it slipped the attention of other commission members.) It contains ideas which, its says, were not approved by the commission, were not in some cases even discussed.

What it does not say is that some of them were discussed, and were rejected. We have a right to know what they are doing in the report. For this section suggests that the Round Tables, which the commission had said might be convened by UNESCO, should include the "ethical and juridical aspects" of international reporting in their discussions. It says that journalists' organizations should consider the concept of an international code of ethics. And it suggests the creation of "some mechanism... ideally with adequate judicial authority" to which a journalist could appeal if "refused or deprived of his identity card." Anyone who pretends that these measures would assist the free flow of news rather than interfering with it is open to the charge of hypocrisy or, at best, naivete.

What matters is not that we are invited, at the end of this mammoth document, to take these afterthoughts seriously, as additions to the formal recommendations; but what is likely to happen to both recommendations and afterthoughts.

I have, obviously, been selective. I have picked out not the appropriate pieties which no doubt reflect the honorable intentions of the MacBride Commission, but themes and recommendations which reveal a pervasive character of thought – that the power of the press must be regulated and channelled. This report was intended to be interpreted and used. And we must therefore openly put the question: for whom is this report, and how will it be used?

The commission, in a proposal which Elie Abel called "premature, unnecessary and unwise," suggested that UNESCO should set up a center for the study and planning of communication. The commission, unanimously, said that UNESCO should include "the elaboration of international norms" as a priority in its communications activities. This report is, formally, not a report to the outside world, or even to governments, but to the Director-General of UNESCO. It will go to the General Conference in Belgrade this year as an appendix to the recommendations he chooses to make. Nothing obliges Mr. M'Bow to make his recommendations on any particular part of the report; they may come from the first four parts, from the formal recommendations, from the "Issues for Further Study."

Governments Love the Idea Of Centralized Planning

It may be that at Belgrade, the majority of governments will be more interested in building up the ability to communicate than in regulating the output of news. Many, in the Third World as well as the West, are too sophisticated to seek to harness news to the service of national policy or international harmony; some have a good record of allowing information to circulate unhampered in their countries and to the outside world. But we cannot count on it, if only because governments love the idea of centralized planning, and because UNESCO has been so enthusiastically invited to extend its activities in this sensitive area.

Recently, governments met in Paris and agreed to set up a new body, within UNESCO, to carry out an International Program for the development of communications. They had in mind the better coordination of technical cooperation and it may – although UNESCO's

efficiency in the past must leave room for doubt – help to achieve that. But Mr. M'Bow, at the end of the conference, not only welcomed the delegates' "recognition," as he saw it, that an "outmoded press tradition" had produced "disequilibria, imbalances, defamations and distortions"; he also said that "most member states were in favor of a broad approach to communication, understanding that it is impossible to separate the medium from the message which the medium bears. When we discuss the transmission of messages, we know that both message and medium must be adapted." Adapted to what, and by whom, he did not say.

UNESCO shows no signs of wishing to separate the medium from the message. A protocol on the protection of journalists has been drawn up, under its auspices, by the International Organization of Journalists in Prague and the International Federation of Journalists in Brussels. The protocol justifies the fears of the MacBride Commission – fears which I believe Mr. MacBride does not share – that special measures to protect journalists would "invite the dangers involved in a licensing system."

At this year's General Conference, the Secretariat of UNESCO has drafted the following proposals for action:

• "Professional organizations ... will be invited to continue their investigations of relations between the concepts of freedom and responsibility";

• UNESCO will seek "discussion on the concept of social responsibility which might provide a basis for communication in the public interest";

• UNESCO will assist "professional organizations ... interested in devising measures to protect journalists in their work."

It is happily not yet true that what UNESCO does today, the world does tomorrow. But too many forces are converging to limit the public's freedom in the name of the public good, to regulate the evils of commercialism while accepting the evils of government control as inevitable where they are not positively desirable. And in effect, for all the good intentions of many of its members, I fear that the MacBride Report lends itself to use by those forces.

A Search for Truth... Or A Denial of Truth?

By GERALD LONG*

I HAVE TO TELL you that the emperor has no clothes.

The substance of my submission is that the recent activities of UNESCO in the field of information, the field in which I have spent my working life, are mischievous and dangerous and must be closely observed and countered by those who value freedom of information.

I refer especially to the work of the commission appointed by UNESCO to study communications problems under the chairmanship of Mr. Sean MacBride, the Irish jurist and politician.

In the Hans Andersen story, when the small boy said that the emperor's new clothes were no clothes at all, everyone suddenly saw that he was right. In real life it is not quite like that, and there are many who will accuse me of recklessness or exaggeration, at best, in suggesting that a grave, constituted international body, committed by its statutes to such noble ideals, can act foolishly and mischievously.

It has been said that my comments on the MacBride Commission are emotive. Mr. MacBride has deplored such criticisms, has said that he has been subject to personal attack, that some persons, motivated by personal animosities or by multinational vested interests, have sought to attribute ill motives to his commission.

I wish to make no personal attack on Mr. MacBride; he is of interest to me only as the chairman of a body which has seen fit to enter the field in which I work, to make ill-founded judgments on

*Gerald Long is managing director of the international news agency, Reuters, with headquarters in London. He frequently has challenged UNESCO and its intrusion into the communication areas. This talk on the subject was given by Mr. Long at the Foreign Correspondents luncheon in Hong Kong on Feb. 29, 1980.

matters about which most of the commission members know little or nothing, including those freedoms on which journalists rely in their work, freedoms which some members of the commission have distinguished themselves in combating and restricting.

I do indeed represent, or try to represent, international vested interests, the interests of journalists, their safety and their freedom to work, the interests of people everywhere in having unrestricted access to information on matters that affect their lives.

There are in the world two attitudes to information. The first sees it as the substance of freedom, the second as an instrument of policy and of control. There were on the MacBride Commission, now ingloriously disbanded after accepting a so-called report, representatives of both points of view. Those who believed in freedom of information were a minority, including some most distinguished journalists.

That minority fought valiantly to remove mischief from the report, or to restrict it. They failed to the extent that the report, or rather its final part containing recommendations, is seen as a compromise, whereas there cannot be a compromise between the search for truth and the denial of truth.

Mr. MacBride, whose remarkable career has brought him the Nobel Peace Prize and the Lenin Peace Prize, is even-handed between those who practice one principle or the other. He writes in a document he submitted to his own commission, and which is essential reading for anyone who wishes to undertake the heavy task of judging his report: "Nearly continuously since the Russian revolution events in the Soviet Union have been either completely misrepresented or distorted in the Western press. Conversely, it is more than probable that reporting in the communist press in socialist countries has been far from balanced."

Thus Mr. MacBride places gravely side by side those who try, and succeed imperfectly, as they must, being human and fallible, to record significant events without other motive than to record, and those who withhold and suppress information as a matter of policy and succeed in the misuse of information as power. Information is only power when it is withheld, which is why journalists have a duty to disclose what they know and in that way to reject power, to be checks on power and its abuse.

Part Five of the MacBride Report is itself turgid and pompous to the point of unreadability. The other four parts approach in size the Manhattan telephone directory but are much less well-written. I

defy anyone who respects the language to read them without nausea; I defy most normally constituted human beings to read them at all. But they are weighty, therefore important; obscure, therefore profound. Of course, the emperor has clothes!

I hope at least that, when the full report is published, the world will be told how it came into being, how much part the members of the commission played in its drafting, how much came from the secretariat of UNESCO or the commission.

The background of the commission is the feeling among many non-industrial countries that they lack the information structure present in the industrial world, in which they are right, and that they should have that structure, in which aspiration they are justified; that their countries are little and poorly reported in the press of the industrial countries, which is true, and should be better reported, which is desirable.

Many of the non-industrial countries are building up a media structure from literally zero, and many have an admirable record in permitting the free circulation of information within their countries, and free access to news sources by international media.

These legitimate desires and aspirations have been seized on by the ideologists of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission, and by a few, but very few, of the non-industrial countries themselves, to support the idea that international news media, such as Reuters, have vast influence and power which they abuse.

Here is Mr. M'Bow, director general of UNESCO:

> "Communication very often appears as the privilege of a tightly knit group of professionals or technocrats who hold population so to speak at their mercy and can direct if not manipulate them at will."

Mr. MacBride follows the same line: the progress of literacy and the development of mass media have enabled everyone to know immediately about everything and have transferred power from governments to public opinion.

Once again paper 90:

> "The development of the mass media has brought news, information and views instantly to the entire human race. Even people who cannot read are instantly informed about events as they take place throughout the world.

And again:

> "No government, be it a democracy, a one party state, or a dictatorship, can survive for long in defiance of its own public opinion, or indeed in defiance of world public opinion. It is no longer possible for a government to act in complete secrecy and to pursue policies that run counter to public opinion."

The trouble with these statements is that they are wrong, wrong-headed, arbitrary and unsupported, and indeed run counter to common experience. Everyone knows immediately about everything as it happens: what have you learned today about what is happening in Afghanistan, events that certainly might affect your lives?

News Touted as a Servant of Policy

How does public opinion control the actions of the Soviet government? The MacBride Report opposes censorship, which is good, but the Soviet member enters an objection:

> "This whole problem of censorship or arbitary control of information is within the national legislation of each country and is to be solved within the national legal framework taking in due consideration the national interests of each country."

Quite. If the national interest demands you be kept in the dark, you are kept in the dark. In the national interest of course, which is your own interest, and which is determined by those who know your interest far better than you do. With such parents and foster parents it is not surprising that the report is a monster, a hybrid, full of irreconcilable contradictions, but with the negative, the hatred of free information always prevailing.

The report says that journalists should not be censored or coerced. But it also says this:

> "Effective legal measures should be designed to circumscribe the action of transnationals (which is sociologese for international news organisations such as Reuters) by requiring them to comply with specific criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and development policies."

In other words, to make international news the servant of so-called national development policies.

It has been tried. The former government of Mrs. Gandhi tried it, under emergency legislation. Some journalists refused to work under the rules and left. Reuters and some others remained, trusting in the good sense of the Indians not to apply the oppressive rules the government set up: that trust was justified and the world went on being informed about India, but it was touch and go.

In another place no journalist stayed to find out what the specific criteria and conditions were under the national development policy of General Amin.

If the coercion inherent in this proposal is applied, then foreign journalists will have to leave the countries which try to make them instruments of national propaganda, the truth under the weasel words of the report. Perhaps this is what the author or authors of that report wish: silence while national development policies are applied. The possibility cannot be dismissed. The exchange of international information is imperfect. How can reporting create an accurate picture of an event even in the minds of those who have the necessary knowledge to accept that picture?

I was reading the other day the autobiography of Stendhal when a phrase struck me powerfully: "Mais combien ne faut-il pas de precautions pour ne pas mentir!" "What efforts must a man make in order not to lie!" That is the work of free journalists: to learn how not to lie when they present a little, it is often forgotten how little, of the world's reality to the world.

It is for the world to judge whether it prefers that effort and that policy to the policy that makes information the servant of governments.

No international news organisation gives a complete picture of the events of a country. How can anyone give any idea of the immense complexities of countries like China or India? It is quite impossible. Therefore to say that we do not do it is simply to use an obvious fact in a false argument, and this is one of the methods against which we must fight.

Protection of Journalists...or Control?

There is more in the MacBride Report. One final matter is important to all of us; that is the protection of journalists, on which this paper is allegedly written. It suggests that journalists should be given a status approaching that of doctors or lawyers, that there

should be for their protection in situations conflict, a protocol to the Geneva convention and such like things.

Mr. MacBride is surprised and shocked that these proposals of his are not welcomed by journalists. His idea – he is a jurist – is that there should be some professional body having a measure of judicial authority as he puts it, which should, again as he puts it, be able to receive appeals if journalists are denied identity cards. This is why journalists do not like the poisoned gifts of Mr. MacBride, because this is registration, utterly foreign to the activity in which we are engaged. Registration and control would be real, and protection would be illusory.

Mr. MacBride, in commenting on the attitude of journalists, has said in the last few days that journalists are not interested in their own protection. Does he really believe that journalists are lemmings running into the sea at the first opportunity, or does he think that they are all, or a large part of them, suicide candidates, that they go into a situation in which they might be protected with no protection? The truth is that Mr. MacBride, being a jurist, believes the only valid protection comes from the law.

That is an admirable attitude in countries under the rule of law. When journalists are injured or killed it is precisely in cases where for the time being no law applies. I take it badly that journalists are accused of not being interested in their own protection, particularly those journalists who have responsibilities for deployment of correspondents working in dangerous situations.

I believe that the only protection we can get will come in the end from ourselves and our own efforts. We must resist the regimentation which this, to me in its totality wholly negative, report suggests.

Administrative Regulation Diminishes Free Expression

The Position of the
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS*

MOST MEMBERS of the National Association of Broadcasters are engaged in commercial broadcasting. They are proud of this system and the democratic climate in which it has grown.

The electronic media in the United States owe a heavy debt to their predecessors of the American print media who made deep personal sacrifices and battled for the freedoms contained in the U.S. Constitution and its First Amendment in particular.

There is much in the MacBride Commission Report with which we agree. Its call for the maintenance of "diversity" shows an understanding of conditions vital to the free flow of information. We appreciate the commission's support for "free access to news sources by journalists" and its recognition of the basic human "right to communicate."

We deeply believe that democracy requires more than just respect for the will of the majority. Early in their history Americans recognized that majorities are as capable of tyranny as despots. Americans have never been content to install governments or even political majorities as the sole guardians of their freedoms.

Our Constitution's guarantee of a free press belongs therefore not just to the so-called "institutional" media, but to any citizen seeking to exercise a right to communicate news, information or opinion to others.

*The National Association of Broadcasters counts more than 4,600 radio stations, 650 television stations and all of the major networks among its members.

This is why we are bothered by the MacBride Commission's suggestion that "management of the media be democratized." We believe there are crucial differences between the need for those in mass communication to pay due respect to the needs of those they serve and, on the other hand, subjecting decisions about what individuals will hear and see to the will of governments or political majorities.

Thomas Jefferson may have understood best what happens when governments attempt to assert their will over such a process:

> "Men fight for freedom; then they begin to accumulate laws to take it away."

At several points in the commission's report are strong suggestions that there is something socially dangerous or inherently evil about commercial communications systems.

"In expanding communications systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication," it urges. We recognize that each nation is free to choose its own approach to organizing mass communication. Nonetheless, the commission has not justified its strong preference for non-commercial media.

We seriously question if efforts to achieve free and open communication, diversity and editorial independence are consistent with governmental or quasi-governmental control of a communications system.

In nations where listeners and viewers have been given a chance to choose between the two, information consumers have preferred the broader free market of ideas offered by commercial and other overseas broadcasters.

The commission urges that transnational communications organizations be subjected to exacting legislative and administrative regulation in each locale they serve.

Regulations Would Inhibit Free Expression

We cannot imagine any arrangement better designed to inhibit and discourage free expression than to subject the financing and content of communication to the separate push and pull of interests in each nation served.

Each organization engaged in international newsgathering or

dissemination would at the outset find itself forced to hire an enormous staff of lawyers just to assure conformity with the procedures of each nation where data are gathered or disseminated. Information and entertainment created to please everyone would likely bore everyone.

We find suggestions that international duties be levied for use of the electromagnetic spectrum or geostationary orbit dangerous to the essential purposes of the commission.

The Stamp Act, aimed at early mass communication in America, was a tool to regulate and inhibit communication. Efforts to implement such measures on an international scale would surely invite abuses of the right of peoples to communicate with one another.

The accurate reporting of facts, together with sensitivity to the needs and aspirations of individuals and peoples, is and will be encouraged by American broadcasters. When personal reputation is unjustly damaged or privacy is invaded without justification, we support access to courts of law for compensation.

America's broadcasters will always work to provide greater diversity, freedom of information, journalistic independence and a human right to communicate.

A number of the commission's recommendations cry out for calm, reasoned reconsideration. Care should be taken that methods chosen to achieve goals we applaud are not contradictory and counterproductive.

64

The Primary Task: To Loosen State Control, Not Tighten It

The Position of the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF JOURNALISTS and the NEWSPAPER GUILD*

IT IS OUR conviction that freedom of information is the best contribution to the efficient development of developing countries if we are to have progress, democracy and peace in the world.

The IFJ long has promoted training programs in developing countries. On the basis of this experience, the IFJ in international forums, such as UNESCO, confirms the federation's basic principles: the promotion of a new world order of information is first and foremost the business of journalists and their trade unions and not of states, governments or any pressure group of whatever kind.

On the much needed establishment of a new world order of information, our objective is to strive to loosen state control on the mass media and to provide journalists in developing countries with an opportunity to have a professional status, guarantees for their protection and improvement of their working conditions.

In order to bring about a more balanced exchange of information, journalists from developing countries should become more involved in the worldwide process of information; they should have access themselves to information sources in developing countries. The mass media in industrialized countries should widely employ qualified local correspondents.

The implementation of these proposals would be much more efficient without the denunciation of the Western "imperialism" of

*The International Federation of Journalists, of which the Newspaper Guild is an affiliate, held its 15th World Congress in Athens in May. This statement of policy reflects conclusions adopted at that congress.

press agencies and the systematic disparaging of so-called Western concepts on press freedom. Nowhere is freedom perfect.

A debate on this subject is a collective means to learn and gain from the experience of others rather than exacerbate existing antagonisms. The IFJ cannot agree that suppressing press freedom and uniformizing information are means of development.

It believes, to the contrary, that a free debate of opinions and a free exchange of information are essential to people who want to decide freely on their future.

These considerations prompted the IFJ to multiply its efforts to organize seminars for journalists from developing countries, eventually under the auspieces of UNESCO or any other international body, such as the European Community.

As the IFJ budget does not provide means for the financing of projects of this extent, financial means must be sought outside the federation. Money offered can be accepted only if no political or ideological condition is attached.

In order to open possibilities for journalists from developing countries to integrate in world information systems, particular efforts should be made to ensure their protection. This effort should materialize through the promulgation of press laws, including a statute to guarantee journalists their professional independence and the possibility for them to freely negotiate collective agreements, including proper working conditions, professional responsibility and the freedom to organize in trade unions.

Training projects should suit the variety of needs resulting from local conditions.

IFJ activity by its member unions take account of the environment of information. The federation limited itself to take cognizance of the UNESCO Declaration of Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War, and could in no way lay down its allegiance to a text which had not been conceived by the federation and which still implicitly admits a possible discrimination of journalists for political reasons. This position of reservation was adopted by the executive committee meeting in Vaduz (1979) because, in our view, the declaration still included too many ambiguities and omissions.

The technical aspects of the new world order of information

also were dealt with by the working party. Technical equipment is threatening an increased "gate-keeping" of information.

Developing countries must be equipped with modern techniques in order to be competitive, to avail themselves of standardization, to avail themselves of a more easy upkeep and after-sale services.

Modern equipments should, moreover, be exchangeable with each other; this would favor "horizontal" exchanges among developing countries, as well as "vertical" exchanges to and from industrialized countries.

The IFJ expressed itself in favor of steps to be taken with competent bodies, dealing with the generalization of preferential charges for press transmission and to make sure that satellites are not under the exclusive control of multinationals from industrialized countries or of political powers, under the pretext of retransmitting information and access to data banks which are the monopoly of superpowers.

Both politics and techniques must be at the service of free access to sources, free writing and speech, free movement and transmission.

If intensified exchanges between North and South and between South and South must pass through the dissemination of economical news on development and sports, it should not put into the shade the defense of human rights.

Detentions and home arrests for reasons of conscience, the "disappearance" and kidnapping of political opponents are as significant news as the building of nuclear plants and rockets.

Journalists devoted to freedom request this freedom to guarantee the quality of their work and they could not remain indifferent and silent when press freedom is being violated, wherever this may occur.

Practical Proposals for All Partners

To attain a more efficient solidarity between developing and industrialized countries, these steps are recommended:

• Find the means for the organization of a seminar for anglophone African journalists, francophone African journalists and a third for journalists of the Mediterranean countries in Africa.

• Rouse initiatives in favor of training professional journalists from developing countries, both on the local and on the international levels.

• Contribute to the creation of journalists' trade unions where they do not exist and to the functioning of existing ones.

• Undertake steps through affiliated organizations to promote the importance of news from developing countries.

• Endeavor to promote a more substantial participation of journalists from developing countries in world information networks.

• Examine with the International Telecommunications Agency the introduction of reduced or preferential charges for the press, both from transmissions to and from developing countries, and among developing countries themselves.

• Develop cooperation with the Federation of Arab Journalists, the Federation of African Journalists, and with other journalistic organizations in Latin America, and encourage all initiatives likely to bring about a more efficient solidarity and mutual understanding on problems in developing countries.

• Give publicity to journalists suffering from persecution, exile and banishing.

• Ensure the IFJ's representation at international and regional conferences to debate professional problems facing journalists and relating more particularly to the new world order of information.

• In the same spirit, demand that national delegations to conferences of UNESCO and of any other body debating press problems include professional journalists, representing journalists' unions, whether they be members of the IFJ or not, and be not only composed of civil servants, media owners and directors.

• Undertake steps with mass media in all countries to ensure that they should adhere to basic principles of equal opportunity and pay for their local correspondents in developing countries and end financial discrimination.

These proposals tend to favor an open dialogue on equal terms with all partners. They are inspired by the basic ideals which always moved the IFJ, more particularly its devotion to pluralist information in a spirit of democratic tolerance.

A Healthy Press Requires A Proper Economic Climate

The Position of the DUTCH NEWSPAPER PRESS ASSOCIATION*

IN DISCUSSIONS of international communications, the free flow of information is an important basic condition for the functioning of democracies.

Non-Western countries would like to realize a more balanced flow of information.

Governments, international organizations and other institutions can work to achieve this through press development aid. The Dutch government does this by making money available through UNESCO.

A report of that agency directed to the Dutch parliament in 1979 noted that:

> "Government activities to promote a more balanced flow of information should never go so far as to affect the free flow of information."

The MacBride Commission Report does not reflect this recognition.

Newspaper companies have built their enterprises within an oriented market economy, in which the reader plays the central role by his subscription or cancellation.

The Dutch Newspaper Press believes that a newspaper's best

*The Association conducted a thorough study of the MacBride Commission Report. Its observations and conclusions are included in this condensed version of its summary.

69

guarantee to its function and continuity is to be economically successful.

In no other system is an independent press possible.

The MacBride Commission Report asks that communications get a high priority in national development activities. It is incomprehensible that it would tax the informational flow and advertising, as suggested.

In such a climate there is risk that the idea of a healthy press in developing countries will remain wishful thinking, especially because such handicaps already exist in some nations.

The commission urges improvement of the newsprint situation and the lowering of rates for news transmission, telecommunications and transport by air.

For the press, the first subject is of crucial importance. The commission suggests that initiatives be taken to find new sources of newsprint so as to increase production, especially in the developing world.

UNESCO, in cooperation with the FAO, could consider alternative raw materials to produce newsprint. Such experiments should be considered.

The high news transmission and other rates are an impediment to the movement of news and the transportation of newspapers. Obviously, no objection can be raised to research in solving these problems.

There should be no distinction between the press in developing countries and elsewhere. It would be better to develop a general rate structure for the entire world media.

The 'Commercialization of Communication'

The commission asks for guidelines on the content of advertisements so that cultural identity of countries might be protected. The guidelines would be developed according to national habits and standards. We know from positive experience with self-regulation in a number of Western countries, such initiatives should not be left to a government.

The Dutch Newspaper Press takes exception to the commission's suggestion of "reducing the commercialization of communication." This would alter established mass media patterns.

The report ridicules the tradition and success of the Western newspaper press. While it is possible to get several interpretations

from the politically cleverly conceived sentences, it is obvious that they form an attack on the way freedom of speech is recognized by Dutch newspaper organizations and the rest of the free world.

The Dutch Newspaper Press considers any limitation placed on the media, now and in the future, as a straightforward and unmistakable attack on freedom of speech.

The commission views qualitative standards of present-day journalism with some reserve. It would like to provide journalism all over the world with a professional label.

It also considers important education, development of higher standards, and codes for journalistic ethics to be initiated on a voluntary basis.

It suggests national news councils and ombudsmen to protect individuals against unfairness. The commission also would permit civilians to attain greater access to the mass media.

Such public pressure would endanger the media which consider it a duty to present all sides to every issue. Any action in this direction is a danger to democracy.

The commission's recommendation to improve the quality of journalism deserves praise. But this should be done under the condition that journalism does not become a closed profession.

Another desire is to improve international news coverage by providing better schooling for journalists. It also is important that foreign correspondents have free access to other countries, and access to all news sources, as well as an unrestricted transmission of their material.

The MacBride Commission would institute a right to reply to offset "inaccurate or malicious reporting of international news."

We feel that voluntary publication of corrections or replies is preferred to international normative action.

Sean MacBride is anxious to get regulations to protect journalists while exercising their profession. With exception of what is stated in the Geneva Convention (1949) applying to perilous missions of armed conflict, other privileges are unacceptable.

Journalists are civilians and they only will be fully protected when everyone's human rights are guaranteed.

Management of the Media

The public's right to communicate is presented as a new concept. Now that the word participation is used in the sense of

giving an acknowledged opinion, or having a say in a matter, we again say this limits the independence of the media. The activation of readers is one of the commission's desires; involvement of the public in management of the media is another.

The report opposed concentration of media ownership, commercial influences on the press and advertising. This should be critically reviewed. Measures to strengthen editorial independence also should be promoted.

A personal comment by the Soviet member of the commission, S. Losev, deserves challenge. He undermines the concept of press freedom by stating that foreign correspondents should respect sovereignty and national identity.

It was surprising to find the suggestion that an effective radio and satellite system be considered for the United Nations "family." The effort not only would be costly, but such a system would create a credibility of broadcasts by "international authorities." The study therefore is unnecessary.

The MacBride Commission Report recommends establishment of an international center for information and communications, within UNESCO.

This is a risk that only could obstruct freedom of the media. "No such establishment," is our reaction. This type of endeavor is far simpler and creditable when money is made available to institutions already active in this field.

If recommendations and conclusions are to have a negative effect on essential components of freedom of communication, then they should not have a place in this report.

Our evaluation of the MacBride Commission Report can be summarized thusly:

• The MacBride Report is unacceptable in its present form, because freedom of speech is endangered by a number of points.

• A number of suggestions give a sympathetic impression, because they could be useful to press development aid for the Third World, as well as to improvement of education and schooling of journalists and to reinforce the position of the press generally.

• In view of the above, it is rational to defend attempts to develop action programs acceptable to all parties at the UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade.

• Unacceptable are any proposals that indicate a lack of respect for the free flow of information generally, and freedom of the press specifically.

The New Order: A Changing Process With Constant Goals

by SEAN MacBRIDE*

IN THE 1970s, international debates on communication issues had stridently reached points of confrontation in many areas. Third World protests against the dominant flow of news from the industrialized countries were often construed as attacks on the free flow of information.

Defenders of journalistic freedom were labeled intruders on national sovereignty. Varying concepts of news values and the role, rights and responsibilities of journalists were widely contended, as was the potential contribution of the mass media to the solution of major world problems.

Given the divisive atmosphere which surrounded the start of the commission's work (in 1977), my concern from the beginning was how to achieve a balanced, non-partisan, objective analysis of today's communication scene and how to meet the challenge of reaching the broadest possible consensus in our views on the major issues before us.

The commission's 16 members – largely representative of the world's ideological, political, economic and geographical spectrum – reached what I consider a surprising measure of agreement on major issues, upon which opinions heretofore had seemed irreconcilable.

It was not simply a matter of reaching conclusions; more important, perhaps, were the identification and analysis of the problems and the possible solutions.

---

*Sean MacBride served as president of the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The Irish barrister, statesman and peace activist gave these remarks at the International Press Institute's General Assembly in Florence.

73

In the inevitable continuing debates on facets of the developing new world information and communication order, we hope that these may be of assistance.

I would like to outline briefly some of the commission's major considerations which I think are important to further debates on communication issues.

First, concerning the numerous freedoms that should apply to communication, our report is unequivocal. I quote some references:

> "The principle of freedom is one that admits of no exception and that is applicable to people all over the world by virtue of their human dignity.... Obstacles to freedom and distortions of democracy are dangerous symptoms in every society.... Derogatory and arbitrary restrictions to the free flow of information should be eliminated straight away. There are no justifiable reasons or excuses for violations of freedom and democracy.... Censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished.... Free access to news sources by journalists is an indispensable requirement for accurate, faithful and balanced reporting."

I trust these examples will silence those critics who have made such completely unwarranted charges that the commission was going to advocate press controls or restrictions on journalists on freedom of information.

Nevertheless, we also point out that freedom of information as a doctrine has sometimes been "misapplied" or "narrowly interpreted." The commission has taken the view that what is even more important is the fact that "all necessary conditions for its genuine implementation on both the national and world levels have not yet been created.... If the disparities between countries, communications resources and facilities decrease, the inherent risks of free flow for developing countries will largely wither away and a freer exchange of messages and ideas can be established."

A Growing Need for Collective Information

We have also distinguished between different components of the freedom of information. Thus, if people in many parts of the world now have greater possibilities to receive information, the same is not true the world over for "the right to seek and to impart

information"; these rights have been widely and frequently prevented or neglected.

Secondly, we have considered communication as a vital social need and fundamental right not only for the individual but for the collectivity. There is a growing need for collective information, since apart from the main government services and the biggest enterprises – which are usually well informed – many local bodies, factories, firms and agencies lack ready access to organized information.

The report states that "in many instances the emphasis is still on information systems whose purpose is to satisfy individual communication needs" and that "it is vitally important to balance this situation."

Thirdly, without going into details of the some 80 recommendations which the commission agreed upon, we cover three main areas in making suggestions for collective action.

These cover the social consequences of communication and the new tasks which must be undertaken; professional rights, standards and practices in communication activities, and the conditions necessary to strengthen the independence of countries in communication matters.

Concerning the latter, these conditions are obviously largely dependent on political choices. Starting from the fact that the development of communication is not a sufficiently recognized priority in a majority of countries, nor at a level of international cooperation, the commission first put the accent on mobilization of resources.

It suggests that international cooperation for development of communication be given equal priority with, and within, other sectors (e.g., health, agriculture, industry, science, education, etc.).

It further recommends that countries give priority to the elaboration of national communication policies as well as that "the communication component in all development projects should receive adequate financing."

Here, let me say that I anticipate the all too familiar rebuttal, "Where is the money going to come from?" To me, the source is obvious when the world's military expenditure has reached the revolting total of 450 billion dollars a year.

It is a scandal that the available resources are so enormous, while the political will that could release them for the benefit of humanity is so feeble.

May I conclude with just a few remarks on the new world communication order which is the central theme of the commission's report.

Distribution of Resources and Powers Must Change

The process of decolonization means that the distribution of resources and powers has to change and is constantly changing in various areas. Aspirations – people are striving for more justice and aiming to strengthen their independence, not only in the political area, but also in economic, cultural, technological and communication fields.

These are no longer questionable issues. With more or less conviction, with varying emphasis and enthusiasm, there is almost general agreement that many things affecting communications between people and nations have to change.

The existing situation is not satisfactory: freedom to collect news is restricted; freedom to express ideas and receive messages is limited; resources to circulate information are very unevenly distributed; equality of, and respect for, all countries and all cultures are still jeopardized.

Therefore, many ask just what is the new world communication order to be, what really will help to overcome existing obstacles and imbalances? While there has been agreement for its pursuance, it must be stated that there is not complete clarity nor unanimity as to its definition.

There are many and varying views on what it should encompass, just as there are diverse opinions on ways and means to achieve it. But I would like to state here with satisfaction, that, in spite of these divergences there are few, if any, people who are not convinced that changes in the field of communications are necessary and that the existing order should be improved.

I also believe that these pluralistic expressions, far from being obscure or discouraging, not only reflect reality but are requisites for the gradual realization of the new order. There is obviously no magic solution to efface in a single stroke the existing complicated and interconnected web of communication problems. There will be many stages, various strategies and different facets to the patient step-by-step establishment of the new structures, means and methods – and new attitudes – which are required.

Thus, the new world communication order may be more accurately defined as a process rather than any given or hoped-for set of conditions and practices.

Its parameters will continually alter, its particulars will change over time, yet the goals of the process will be constant – greater freedom of expression and more justice.

Thus, the members of the commission agreed to consider a new international order "not only as a goal but as a stage in a journey." So all recommendations and suggestions, some for immediate undertaking, others requiring time to prepare and carry out, should be considered as a continuing quest for new relations in communication within and among societies; a quest to be undertaken with a broad perception of the interlocking nature of the aspirations of all peoples and mutual comprehension that a plurality of ideas is a natural, realistic and even necessary foundation for the attempts to build a better new order.

I trust the report will be received with the same balanced comprehension in which it was prepared. We look forward to the organization of studies and debates on its analyses and proposals by governments, professional organizations and other interested bodies. Such considerations in all parts of the world will, in particular, provide member states with the evaluations required to shape UNESCO's future programs in the field of communication.

MacBride Commission Report: Part V: Communication Tomorrow

A. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

THE SURVEY contained in this report has recorded a dramatic expansion of communication resources and possibilities. It is an expansion that promises great opportunities, but also raises anxieties and uncertainties. Everything will depend on the use made of the new resources – that is, on crucial decisions, and on the question of who will make the decisions. Communication can be an instrument of power, a revolutionary weapon, a commercial product, or a means of education; it can serve the ends of either liberation or of oppression, of either the growth of the individual personality or of drilling human beings into uniformity. Each society must choose the best way to approach the task facing all of us and to find the means to overcome the material, social and political constraints that impede progress.

We have already considered many suggestions for further development. Without repeating them it might be useful to begin our recommendations by summarizing previous main conclusions:

1. Our review of communication the world over reveals a variety of solutions adopted in different countries – in accordance with diverse traditions, patterns of social, economic and cultural life, needs and possibilities. This diversity is valuable and should be respected; there is no place for the universal application of preconceived models. Yet it should be possible to establish, in broad outline, common aims and common values in the sphere of communication, based on common interest in a world of interdependence. The whole human race is threatened by the arms race and by the persistence of unacceptable global inequalities, both of which generate tensions and which jeopardize its future and even its survival. The contemporary

situation demands a better, more just and more democratic social order, and the realization of fundamental human rights. These goals can be achieved only through understanding and tolerance, gained in large part by free, open and balanced communications.

2. The review has also shown that the utmost importance should be given to eliminating imbalances and disparities in communication and its structures, and particularly in information flows. Developing countries need to reduce their dependence, and claim a new, more just and more equitable order in the field of communication. This issue has been fully debated in various settings; the time has now come to move from principles to substantive reforms and concrete action.

3. Our conclusions are founded on the firm conviction that communication is a basic individual right, as well as a collective one required by all communities and nations. Freedom of information – and, more specifically the right to seek, receive and impart information – is a fundamental human right; indeed, a prerequisite for many others. The inherent nature of communication means that its fullest possible exercise and potential depend on the surrounding political, social and economic conditions, the most vital of these being democracy within countries and equal, democratic relations between them. It is in this context that the democratization of communication at national and international levels, as well as the larger role of communication in democratizing society, acquires utmost importance.

4. For these purposes, it is essential to develop comprehensive national communication policies linked to overall social, cultural and economic development objectives. Such policies should evolve from broad consultations with all sectors concerned and adequate mechanisms for wide participation of organized social groups in their definition and implementation. National governments as much as the international community should recognize the urgency of according communications higher priority in planning and funding. Every country should develop its communication patterns in accordance with its own conditions, needs and traditions, thus strengthening its integrity, independence and self-reliance.

5. The basic considerations which are developed at length in the body of our report are intended to provide a framework for the development of a new information and communication order. We see its implementation as an on-going process of change in the nature of relations between and within nations in the field of communications. Imbalances in national information and communication systems are

as disturbing and unacceptable as social, economic, cultural and technological, both national and international disparities. Indeed, rectification of the latter is inconceivable in any true or lasting sense without elimination of the former. Crucial decisions concerning communication development need to be taken urgently, at both national and international levels. These decisions are not merely the concern of professionals, researchers or scholars, nor can they be the sole prerogative of those holding political or economic power. The decision-making process has to involve social participation at all levels. This calls for new attitudes for overcoming stereotyped thinking and to promote more understanding of diversity and plurality, with full respect for the dignity and equality of peoples living in different conditions and acting in different ways.

Thus our call for reflection and action is addressed broadly to governments and international organizations, to policy-makers and planners, to the media and professional organizations, to researchers, communication practitioners, to organized social groups and the public at large.

I. STRENGTHENING INDEPENDENCE AND SELF-RELIANCE

Communication Policies

All individuals and people collectively have an inalienable right to a better life which, howsoever conceived, must ensure a social minimum, nationally and globally. This calls for a strengthening of capacities and the elimination of gross inequalities: such defects may threaten social harmony and even international peace. There must be a measured movement from disadvantage and dependence to self-reliance and the creation of more equal opportunities. Since communication is interwoven with every aspect of life, it is clearly of the utmost importance that the existing "communication gap" be rapidly narrowed and eventually eliminated.

We recommend:

1. Communication be no longer regarded merely as an incidental service and its development left to chance. Recognition of its

potential warrants the formulation by all nations, and particularly developing countries, of comprehensive communication policies linked to overall social, cultural, economic and political goals. Such policies should be based on inter-ministerial and inter-disciplinary consultations with broad public participation. The object must be to utilize the unique capacities of each form of communication, from interpersonal and traditional to the most modern, to make men and societies aware of their rights, harmonize unity in diversity, and foster the growth of individuals and communities within the wider frame of national development in an interdependent world.

2. As language embodies the cultural experience of people, all languages should be adequately developed to serve the complex and diverse requirements of modern communication. Developing nations and multilingual societies need to evolve language policies that promote all national languages even while selecting some, where necessary, for more widespread use in communication, higher education and administration. There is also need in certain situations for the adaptation, simplification, and standardization of scripts and development of keyboards, preparation of dictionaries and modernized systems of language learning, transcription of literature in widely-spoken national languages. The provision of simultaneous interpretation and automated translation facilities now under experimentation for cross-cultural communication to bridge linguistic divides should also be envisaged.

3. A primary policy objective should be to make elementary education available to all and to wipe out illiteracy, supplementing formal schooling systems with non-formal education and enrichment within appropriate structures of continuing and distance learning (through radio, television and correspondence).

4. Within the framework of national development policies, each country will have to work out its own set of priorities, bearing in mind that it will not be possible to move in all directions at the same time. But, as far as resources allow, communication policies should aim at stimulating and encouraging all means of communication.

Strengthening Capacities

Communication policies should offer a guide to the determination of information and media priorities and to the selection of appropriate technologies. This is required to plan the installation and de-

velopment of adequate infrastructures to provide self-reliant communications capacity.

We recommend:

5. Developing countries take specific measures to establish or develop essential elements of their communications systems: print media, broadcasting and telecommunications along with the related training and production facilities.

6. Strong national news agencies are vital for improving each country's national and international reporting. Where viable, regional networks should be set up to increase news flows and serve all the major language groups in the area. Nationally, the agencies should buttress the growth of both urban and rural newspapers to serve as the core of a country's news collection and distribution system.

7. National book production should be encouraged and accompanied by the establishment of a distribution network for books, newspapers and periodicals. The stimulation of works by national authors in various languages should be promoted.

8. The development of comprehensive national radio networks, capable of reaching remote areas, should take priority over the development of television, which, however, should be encouraged where appropriate. Special attention should be given to areas where illiteracy is prevalent.

9. National capacity for producing broadcast materials is necessary to obviate dependence on external sources over and beyond desirable programme exchange. This capacity should include national or regional broadcasting, film and documentary production centres with a basic distribution network.

10. Adequate educational and training facilities are required to supply personnel for the media and production organizations, as well as managers, technicians and maintenance personnel. In this regard, cooperation between neighbouring countries and within regions should be encouraged.

Basic Needs

All nations have to make choices in investment priorities. In choosing between possible alternatives and often conflicting interests, developing countries, in particular, must give priority to satisfying their people's essential needs. Communication is not only a system of public information, but also an integral part of education and development.

We recommend:

11. The communication component in all development projects should receive adequate financing. So-called "development support communications" are essential for mobilizing initiative and providing information required for action in all fields of development – agriculture, health and family planning, education, religion, industry and so on.

12. Essential communication needs to be met include the extension of basic postal services and telecommunication networks through small rural electronic exchanges.

13. The development of a community press in rural areas and small towns would not only provide print support for economic and social extension activities. This would also facilitate the production of functional literature for neo-literates as well.

14. Utilization of local radio, low-cost small format television and video systems and other appropriate technologies would facilitate production of programmes relevant to community development efforts, stimulate participation and provide opportunity for diversified cultural expression.

15. The educational and informational use of communication should be given equal priority with entertainment. At the same time, education systems should prepare young people for communication activities. Introduction of pupils at primary and secondary levels to the forms and uses of the means of communication (how to read newspapers, evaluate radio and television programmes, use elementary audio-visual techniques and apparatus) should permit the young to understand reality better and enrich their knowledge of current affairs and problems.

16. Organization of community listening and viewing groups could in certain circumstances widen both entertainment and education opportunities. Education and information activities should be supported by different facilities ranging from mobile book, tape and film libraries to programmed instruction through "schools of the air."

17. Such activities should be aggregated wherever possible in order to create vibrant local communication resource centres for entertainment, education, information dissemination and cultural exchange. They should be supported by decentralized media production centres; educational and extension services should be location-specific if they are to be credible and accepted.

18. It is not sufficient to urge that communication be given a high priority in national development; possible sources of investment

finance must be identified. Among these could be differential communication pricing policies that would place larger burdens on more prosperous urban and elite groups; the taxing of commercial advertising may also be envisaged for this purpose.

Particular Challenges

We have focussed on national efforts which must be made to lead to greater independence and self-reliance. But there are three major challenges to this goal that require concerted international action. Simply put, these are paper, tariff structures and the electromagnetic spectrum.

We recommend:

19. A major international research and development effort to increase the supply of paper. The worldwide shortage of paper, including newsprint, and its escalating cost impose crushing burdens upon struggling newspapers, periodicals and the publication industry, above all in the developing countries. Certain ecological constraints have also emerged. UNESCO, in collaboration with FAO, should take urgent measures to identify and encourage production of paper and newsprint either by recycling paper or from new sources of feedstock in addition to the wood pulp presently produced largely by certain northern countries. Kenaf, bagasse, tropical woods and grasses could possibly provide alternative sources. Initial experiments are encouraging and need to be supported and multiplied.

20. Tariffs for news transmission, telecommunications rates and air mail charges for the dissemination of news, transport of newspapers, periodicals, books and audiovisual materials are one of the main obstacles to a free and balanced flow of information. This situation must be corrected, especially in the case of developing countries, through a variety of national and international initiatives. Governments should in particular examine the policies and practices of their post and telegraph authorities. Profits or revenues should not be the primary aim of such agencies. They are instruments for policy-making and planned development in the field of information and culture. Their tariffs should be in line with larger national goals. International action is also necessary to alter telecommunication tariffs that militate heavily against small and peripheral users. Current international consultations on this question may be brought to

early fruition, possibly at the October 1980 session of the 154-national International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee, which should have before it specific proposals made by a Unesco-sponsored working group on "Low Telecommunication Rates" (November 1979). Unesco might, in cooperation with ITU, also sponsor an overall study on international telecommunication services by means of satellite transmission in collaboration with Intelsat, Intersputnik and user country representatives to make proposals for international and regional coordination of geostationary satellite development. The study should also include investigation of the possibility and practicalities of discounts for transmission of news and preferential rates for certain types of transmission to and from developing countries. Finally, developing countries should investigate the possiblity of negotiating preferential tariffs on a bilateral or regional basis.

21. The electro-magnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit, both finite natural resources, should be more equitably shared as the common property of mankind. For that purpose, we welcome the decisions taken by the World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC), Geneva, September-November 1979, to convene a series of special conferences over the next few years on certain specific topics related to the utilization of these resources.

II. SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES AND NEW TASKS

Integrating Communication into Development

Development strategies should incorporate communication policies as an integral part in the diagnosis of needs and in the design and implementation of selected priorities. In this respect communication should be considered a major development resource, a vehicle to ensure real political participation in decision-making, a central information base for defining policy options, and an instrument for creating awareness of national priorities.

We recommend:

22. Promotion of dialogue for development as a central component of both communication and development policies. Implementation of national policies should be carried out through three complementary communication patterns: first, from decision-makers

towards different social sectors to transmit information about what they regard as necessary changes in development actions, alternative strategies and the varying consequences of the different alternatives; second, among and between diverse social sectors in a horizontal information network to express and exchange views on their different demands, aspirations, objective needs and subjective motivations; third, between decision-makers and all social groups through permanent participatory mechanisms for two-way information flows to elaborate development goals and priorities and make decisions on utilization of resources. Each one of these patterns requires the design of specific information programmes, using different communication means.

23. In promoting communication policies, special attention should be given to the use of non-technical language and comprehensible symbols, images and forms to ensure popular understanding of development issues and goals. Similarly, development information supplies to the media should be adapted to prevailing news values and practices, which in turn should be encouraged to be more receptive to development needs and problems.

Facing the Technological Challenge

The technological explosion in communication has both great potential and great danger. The outcome depends on crucial decisions and on where and by whom they are taken. Thus, it is a priority to organize the decision-making process in a participatory manner on the basis of a full awareness of the social impact of different alternatives.

We recommend:

24. Devising policy instruments at the national level in order to evaluate the positive and negative social implications of the introduction of powerful new communication technologies. The preparation of the technological impact surveys can be a useful tool to assess the consequences for life styles, relevance for underprivileged sectors for society, cultural influence, effects on employment patterns, and similar factors. This is particularly important when making choices with respect to the development of communication infrastructures.

25. Setting up national mechanisms to promote participation and discussion of social priorities in the acquisition or extension of new communication technologies. Decisions with respect to the

orientation given to research and development should come under closer public scrutiny.

26. In developing countries the promotion of autonomous research and development should be linked to specific projects and programmes at the national, regional and inter-regional levels, which are often geared to the satisfaction of basic needs. More funds are necessary to stimulate and support adaptive technological research. This might also help these countries to avoid problems of obsolescence and problems arising from the non-availability of particular types of equipment, related spare parts and components from the advanced industrial nations.

27. The concentration of communications technology in a relatively few developed countries and transnational corporations has led to virtual monopoly situations in this field. To counteract these tendencies national and international measures are required, among them reform of existing patent laws and conventions, appropriate legislation and international agreements.

Strengthening Cultural Identity

Promoting conditions for the preservation of the cultural identity of every society is necessary to enable it to enjoy a harmonious and creative inter-relationship with other cultures. It is equally necessary to modify situations in many developed and developing countries which suffer from cultural dominance.

We recommend:

28. Establishment of national cultural policies, which should foster cultural identity and creativity, and involve the media in these tasks. Such policies should also contain guidelines for safeguarding national cultural development while promoting knowledge of other cultures. It is in relation to others that each culture enhances its own identity.[1]

29. Communication and cultural policies should ensure that creative artists and various grass-roots groups can make their voices heard through the media. The innovative uses of film, television or

[1] Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I wish to add that owing to the cultural importance of spiritual and religious values and also in order to restore moral values, policy guidelines should take into account religious beliefs and traditions."

radio by people of different cultures should be studied. Such experiments constitute a basis for continuing cultural dialogue, which could be furthered by agreements between countries and through international support.

30. Introduction of guidelines with respect to advertising content and the values and attitudes it fosters, in accordance with national standards and practices. Such guidelines should be consistent with national development policies and efforts to preserve cultural identity. Particular attention should be given to the impact on children and adolescents. In this connection, various mechanisms such as complaint boards or consumer review committees might be established to afford the public the possiblity of reacting against advertising which they feel inappropriate.

Reducing the Commercialization Of Communication

The social effects of the commercialization of the mass media are a major concern in policy formulation and decision-making by private and public bodies.

We recommend:

31. In expanding communication systems, preference should be given to non-commercial forms of mass communication. Promotion of such types of communication should be integrated with the traditions, culture, development objectives and socio-political system of each country. As in the field of education, public funds might be made available for this purpose.

32. While acknowledging the need of the media for revenues, ways and means should be considered to reduce the negative effects that the influence of market and commercial considerations have in the organization and content of national and international communication flows.[1]

[1] Comment by Mr. E. Abel: "At no time has the commission seen evidence adduced in support of the notion that market and commerical considerations necessarily exert a negative effect upon communication flows. On the contrary, the commission has praised elsewhere in this report courageous investigative journalism of the sort that can be sustained only by independent media whose survival depends upon their acceptance in the marketplace, rather than the favors of political leaders. The commission also is aware that market mechanisms play an increasingly important role today even in so-called planned economies."

33. That consideration be given to changing existing funding patterns of commerical mass media. In this connection, reviews could be made of the way in which the relative role of advertising volume and costs pricing policies, voluntary contributions, subsidies, taxes, financial incentives and supports could be modified to enhance the social function of mass media and improve their service to the community.

Access to Technical Information

The flow of technical information within nations and across national boundaries is a major resource for development. Access to such information, which countries need for technical decision-making at all levels, is as crucial as access to news sources. This type of information is generally not easily available and is most often concentrated in large techno-structures. Developed countries are not providing adequate information of this type to developing countries.

We recommend:

34. Developing countries should pay particular attention to (a) the correlation between educational, scientific and communication policies, because their practical application frequently overlaps; (b) the creation in each country of one of several centres for the collection and utilization of technical information and data, both from within the country and from abroad; (c) to secure the basic equipment necessary for essential data processing activities; (d) the development of skills and facilities for computer processing and analysis of data obtained from remote sensing.

35. Developed countries should foster exchanges of technical information on the principle that all countries have equal rights to full access to available information. It is increasingly necessary, in order to reduce inequalities in this field, to promote cooperative arrangements for collection, retrieval, processing and diffusion of technological information through various networks, regardless of geographical or institutional frontiers. UNISIST, which provides basic guidelines for voluntary cooperation among and between information systems and services, should further develop its activities.

36. Developing countries should adopt national informatics policies as a matter of priority. These should primarily relate to the establishment of decision-making centres (inter-departmental and

inter-disciplinary) which would inter alia (a) assess technological alternatives; (b) centralize purchases; (c) encourage local production of software; (d) promote regional and sub-regional cooperative (in various fields, including education, health and consumer services).

37. At the international level, consideration should be given to action with respect to: (a) a systematic identification of existing organized data processing infrastructures in various specialized fields; (b) agreement on measures for effective multi-country participation in the programmes, planning and administration of existing or developing data infrastructures; (c) analysis of commercial and technical measures likely to improve the use of informatics by developing countries; (d) agreement on international priorities for research and development that is of interest to all countries in the field of informatics.

38. Transnational corporations should supply to the authorities of the countries in which they operate, upon request and on a regular basis as specified by local laws and regulations, all information required for legislative and administrative purposes relevant to their activities and specifically needed to assess the performance of such entities. They should also provide the public, trade unions and other interested sectors of the countries in which they operate with information needed to understand the global structure, activities and policies of the transnational corporation and their significance for the country concerned.

III. PROFESSIONAL INTEGRITY AND STANDARDS

Responsibility of Journalists

For the journalist, freedom and responsibility are indivisible. Freedom without responsibility invites distortion and other abuses. But in the absence of freedom there can be no exercise of responsibility. The concept of freedom with responsibility necessarily includes a concern for professional ethics, demanding an equitable approach to events, situations or processes with due attention to their diverse aspects. This is not always the case today.

We recommend:

39. The importance of the journalist's mission in the contem-

porary world demands steps to enhance his standing in society. In many countries even today, journalists are not regarded as members of an acknowledged profession and they are treated accordingly. To overcome this situation, journalism needs to raise its standards and quality for recognition everywhere as a genuine profession.

40. To be treated as professionals, journalists require broad educational preparation and specific professional training. Programmes of instruction need to be developed not only for entry-level recruits, but also for experienced personnel who from time to time would benefit from special seminars and conferences designed to refresh and enrich their qualifications. Basically, programmes of instruction and training should be conducted on national and regional levels.

41. Such values as truthfulness, accuracy and respect for human rights are not universally applied at present. Higher professional standards and responsibility cannot be imposed by decree, nor do they depend solely on the goodwill of individual journalists, who are employed by institutions which can improve or handicap their professional performance. The self-respect of journalists, their integrity and inner drive to turn out work of high quality are of paramount importance. It is this level of professional dedication, making for responsibility, that should be fostered by news media and journalists' organizations. In this framework, a distinction may have to be drawn between media institutions, owners and managers on the one hand, and journalists on the other.

42. As in other professions, journalists and media organizations serve the public directly and the public, in turn, is entitled to hold them accountable for their actions. Among the mechanisms devised up to now in various countries for assuring accountability, the Commission sees merit in press or media councils, the institution of the press ombudsman and peer group criticism of the sort practiced by journalism reviews in several countries. In addition, communities served by particular media can accomplish significant reforms through citizen action. Specific forms of community involvement in decision-making will vary, of course, from country to country. Public broadcasting stations, for example, can be governed by representative boards drawn from the community. Voluntary measures of this sort can do much to influence media performance. Nevertheless, it appears necessary to develop further effective ways by which the right to assess mass media performance can be exercised by the public.

43. Codes of professional ethics exist in all parts of the world, adopted voluntarily in many countries by professional groups. The adoption of codes of ethics at national and, in some cases, at the regional level is desirable, provided that such codes are prepared and adopted by the profession itself – without government interference.

Towards Improved International Reporting

The full and factual presentation of news about one country to others is a continuing problem. The reasons for this are manifold: principal among them are correspondents' working conditions, their skills and attitudes, varying conceptions of news and information values and government viewpoints. Remedies for the situation will require long-term, evolutionary action towards improving the exchange of news around the world.

We recommend:

44. All countries should take steps to assure admittance of foreign correspondents and facilitate their collection and transmission of news. Special obligations in this regard, undertaken by the signatories to the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, should be honoured and, indeed, liberally applied. Free access to news sources by journalists is an indispensable requirement for accurate, faithful and balanced reporting. This necessarily involves access to unofficial, as well as official sources of information, that is, access to the entire spectrum of opinion within any country.(1)

45. Conventional standards of news selection and reporting, and many accepted news values, need to be reassessed if readers and listeners around the world are to receive a more faithful and comprehensive account of events, movements and trends in both developing and developed countries. The inescapable need to inter-

(1) Comment by S. Losev: This paragraph doesn't correspond to the Helsinki Final Act (see section 2 – information, point (c)), contradicts the interests of developing nations, and therefore is completely unacceptable and I object against it being included. I suggest to replace this recommendation by the following text: "All countries should take appropriate measures to improve the conditions for foreign correspondents to carry out their professional activities in the host countries in accordance with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and with due respect to the national sovereignty and the national identity of the host country."

pret unfamiliar situations in terms that will be understood by a distant audience should not blind reporters or editors to the hazards of narrow ethnocentric thinking. The first step towards overcoming this bias is to acknowledge that it colours the thinking of virtually all human beings, journalists included, for the most part without deliberate intent. The act of selecting certain news items for publication, while rejecting others, produces in the minds of the audience a picture of the world that may well be incomplete or distorted. Higher professional standards are needed for journalists to be able to illuminate the diverse cultures and beliefs of the modern world, without their presuming to judge the ultimate validity of any foreign nation's experience and traditions.

46. To this end, reporters being assigned to foreign posts should have the benefit of language training and acquaintance with the history, institutions, politics, economics and cultural environment of the country or region in which they will be serving.

47. The press and broadcasters in the industrialized world should allot more space and time to reporting events in and background material about foreign countries in general and news from the developing world in particular. Also, the media in developed countries – especially the "gatekeepers," editors and producers of print and broadcasting media who select the news items to be published or broadcast – should become more familiar with the cultures and conditions in developing countries. Although the present imbalance in news flows calls for strengthening capacities in developing countries, the media of the industrialized countries have their contribution to make towards the correction of these inequalities.

48. To offset the negative effects of inaccurate or malicious reporting of international news, the right of reply and correction should be further considered. While these concepts are recognized in many countries, their nature and scope vary so widely that it would be neither expedient nor realistic to propose the adoption of any international regulations for their purpose. False or distorted news accounts can be harmful, but the voluntary publication of corrections or replies is preferable to international normative action. Since the manner in which the right of reply and correction as applied in different countries varies significantly, it is further suggested that: (a) the exercise of the international right of reply and correction be considered for application on a voluntary basis in each country

according to its journalistic practices and national legal framework; (b) the United Nations, in consultation with all concerned bodies, explore the conditions under which this right could be perfected at the international levels, taking into account the cumbersome operation of the 1952 Convention on the International Right of Correction; (c) media institutions with an international reach define on a voluntary basis internal standards for the exercise of this right and make them publicly available.

49. Intelligence services of many nations have at one time or other recruited journalists to commit espionage under the cover of their professional duties. This practice must be condemned. It undermines the integrity of the profession and, in some circumstances, can expose other journalists to unjustified suspicion or physical threat. The Commission urges journalists and their employers to be on guard against possible attempts of this kind. We also urge governments to refrain from using journalists for purposes of espionage.

Protection of Journalists

Daily reports from around the world attest to dangers that journalists are subject to in the exercise of their profession: harassment, threats, imprisonment, physical violence, assassination. Continual vigilance is required to focus the world's attention on such assaults to human rights.

We recommend:

50. The professional independence and integrity of all those involved in the collection and dissemination of news, information and views to the public should be safeguarded. However, the Commission does not propose special privileges to protect journalists in the performance of their duties, although journalism is often a dangerous profession. Far from constituting a special category, journalists are citizens of their respective countries, entitled to the same range of human rights as other citizens. One exception is provided in the additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, which applies only to journalists on perilous missions, such as in areas of armed conflict. To propose additional measures would invite the dangers entailed in a licensing system since it would require somebody to stipulate who should be entitled to claim such protec-

tion. Journalists will be fully protected only when everyone's human rights are guaranteed.[1]

51. That Unesco should convene a series of round tables at which journalists, media executives, researchers and jurists can periodically review problems related to the protection of journalists and propose additional appropriate measures to this end.[2]

IV DEMOCRATIZATION OF COMMUNICATION

Human Rights

Freedom of speech, of the press, of information and of assembly are vital for the realization of human rights. Extension of these communication freedoms to a broader individual and collective right to communicate is an evolving principle in the democratization process. Among the human rights to be emphasized are those of equality for women and between races. Defence of all human rights is one of the media's most vital tasks.

We recommend:

52. All those working in the mass media should contribute to the fulfillment of human rights, both individual and collective, in the spirit of the Unesco Declaration on the mass media and the Helsinki Final Act, and the International Bill of Human Rights. The contribution of the media in this regard is not only to foster these principles, but also to expose all infringements, wherever they occur, and to support those whose rights have been neglected or violated. Professional associations and public opinion should support journalists

---

[1] Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I consider this paragraph quite inadequate to deal with what is a serious position. Because of the importance of the role of journalists and others who provide or control the flow of news to the media, I urge that they should be granted a special status and protection. I also urge that provisions should be made to enable a journalist to appeal against a refusal of reasonable facilities. My views on these issues are embodied in a paper entitled *The Protection of Journalists* (CIC Document No. 90) which I submitted to the Commission; I refer in particular to paragraphs 1-17 and 35-53 of this paper."

[2] Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I urge that such a Round Table be convened annually for a period of five years; I refer to paragraphs 50-57 of my paper on *The Protection of Journalists* (CIC Document No. 90)."

subject to pressure or who suffer adverse consequences from their dedication to the defence of human rights.

53. The media should contribute to promoting the just cause of peoples struggling for freedom and independence and their right to live in peace and equality without foreign interference. This is especially important for all oppressed peoples who, while struggling against colonialism, religious and racial discrimination, are deprived of opportunity to make their voices heard within their own countries.

54. Communication needs in a democratic society should be met by the extension of specific rights such as the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy, the right to participate in public communication – all elements of a new concept, the right to communicate. In developing what might be called a new era of social rights, we suggest all the implications of the right to communicate be further explored.

Removal of Obstacles

Communication, with its immense possibilities for influencing the minds and behaviour of people, can be a powerful means of promoting democratization of society and of widening public participation in the decision-making process. This depends on the structures and practices of the media and their management and to what extent they facilitate broader access and open the communication process to a free interchange of ideas, information and experience among equals, without dominance or discrimination.

We recommend:

55. All countries adopt measures to enlarge sources of information needed by citizens in their everyday life. A careful review of existing laws and regulations should be undertaken with the aim of reducing limitations, secrecy provisions and other constraints in information practices.

56. Censorship or arbitrary control of information should be abolished.[1] In areas where reasonable restrictions may be consi-

[1] Comment by Mr. S. Losev: "This whole problem of censorship or arbitrary control of information is within the national legislation of each country and is to be solved within the national, legal framework taking in due consideration the national interest of each country."

dered necessary, these should be provided for by law, subject to judicial review and in line with the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants relating to human rights, and in other instruments adopted by the community of nations.[1]

57. Special attention should be devoted to obstacles and restrictions which derive from the concentration of media ownership, public or private, from commerical influences on the press and broadcasting, or from private or governmental advertising. The problem of financial conditions under which the media operate should be critically reviewed, and measures elaborated to strengthen editorial independence.

58. Effective legal measures should be designed to: (a) limit the process of concentration and monopolization; (b) circumscribe the action of transnationals by requiring them to comply with specific criteria and conditions defined by national legislation and development policies; (c) reverse trends to reduce the number of decision-makers at a time when the media's public is growing larger and the impact of communication is increasing; (d) reduce the influence of advertising upon editorial policy and broadcast programming; (e) seek and improve models which would ensure greater independence and autonomy of the media concerning their management and editorial policy, whether these media are under private, public or government ownership.[2]

---

[1] Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I also wish to draw attention to the provisions of Article 10 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights which I consider as wholly inadequate. I urge that Articles 13 and 14 of the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights (1979) are much more comprehensive and effective than the equivalent provisions of the European Convention. The matter is discussed in paragraphs 26-29 of my paper on *The Protection of Journalists* (CIC Document No. 90)

[2] Comment by Mr. E. Abel: "Regarding (a) and (c), anti-monopoly legislation, whether more or less effective, is relevant only in countries where a degree of competition can be said to exist. It is a travesty to speak of measures against concentration and monopolization in countries where the media are themselves established as state monopolies, or operate as an arm of the only authorized political party. (b) Transnational corporations are expected to comply with the laws of the countries in which they do business. (d) Where it can be shown to exist, the influence of advertisers upon editorial content or broadcast programming would warrant careful study. But a sweeping demand that such influence be reduced, without pausing to examine or attempting to measure that influence in particular circumstances, is a symptom of ideological prejudice."

Diversity and Choice

Diversity and choice in the content of communication are a precondition for democratic participation. Every individual and particular groups should be able to form judgments on the basis of a full range of information and a variety of messages and opinions and have the opportunity to share these ideas with others. The development of decentralized and diversified media should provide larger opportunities for a real direct involvement of the people in communication processes.

We recommend:

59. The building of infrastructures and the adoption of particular technologies should be carefully matched to the need for more abundant information to a broader public from a plurality of sources.

60. Attention should be paid to the communication needs of women. They should be assured adequate access to communication means and that images of them and of their activities are not distorted by the media or in advertising.

61. The concerns of children and youth, national, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities, people living in remote areas and the aged and handicapped also deserve particular consideration. They constitute large and sensitive segments of society and have special communication needs.

Integration and Participation

To be able to communicate in contemporary society, man must dispose of appropriate communication tools. New technologies offer him many devices for individualized information and entertainment, but often fail to provide appropriate tools for communication within his community or social or cultural group. Hence, alternative means of communication are often required.

We recommend:

62. Much more attention be devoted to use of the media in living and working environments. Instead of isolating men and women, the media should help integrate them into the community.

63. Readers, listeners and viewers have generally been treated as passive receivers of information. Those in charge of the media should encourage their audiences to play a more active role in communication by allocating more newspaper space, or broadcasting

time, for the views of individual members of the public or organized social groups.

64. The creation of appropriate communication facilities at all levels, leading towards new forms of public involvement in the management of the media and new modalities for their funding.

65. Communication policy-makers should give far greater importance to devising ways whereby the management of the media could be democratized – while respecting national customs and characteristics – by associating the following categories: (a) journalists and professional communicators; (b) creative artists; (c) technicians; (d) media owners and managers; (e) representatives of the public. Such democratization of the media needs the full support and understanding of all those working in them, and this process should lead to their having a more active role in editorial policy and management.

V. FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Partners for Development

Inequalities in communication facilities, which exist everywhere, are due to economic discrepancies or to political and economic design, still others to cultural imposition or neglect. But whatever the source or reason for them, gross inequalities should no longer be countenanced. The very notion of a new world information and communication order presupposes fostering international cooperation, which includes two main areas: international assistance and contributions towards international understanding. The international dimensions of communication are today of such importance that it has become crucial to develop cooperation on a world-wide scale. It is for the international community to take the appropriate steps to replace dependence, dominance and inequality by more fruitful and more open relations of interdependence and complementarity, based on mutual interest and the equal dignity of nations and peoples. Such cooperation requires a major international commitment to redress the present situations. This clear commitment is a need not only for developing countries but also for the international community as a whole. The tensions and disruptions that will come from lack of action are far greater than the problems posed by necessary changes.

We recommend:

66. The progressive implementation of national and international measures that will foster the setting up of a new world information and communication order. The proposals contained in this report can serve as a contribution to develop the varied actions necessary to move in that direction.

67. International cooperation for the development of communications be given equal priority with and within other sectors (e.g. health, agriculture, industry, science, education, etc.) as information is a basic resource for individual and collective advancement and for all-round development. This may be achieved by utilizing funds provided through bilateral governmental agreements and from international and regional organizations, which should plan a considerable increase in their allocations for communication, infrastructures, equipment and programme development. Care should be taken that assistance is compatible with developing countries' priorities. Consideration should also be given to provisions of assistance on a programme rather than on a strict project basis.

68. The close relationship between the establishment of a new international economic order and the new world information and communication order should be carefully considered by the technical bodies dealing with these issues. Concrete plans of action linking both processes should be implemented within the United Nations system. The United Nations in approving the international development strategy should consider the communications sector as an integral element of it and not merely as an instrument of public information.

Strengthening Collective Self-reliance

Developing countries have a primary responsibility for undertaking necessary changes to overcome their dependence in the field of communications. The actions needed begin at the national level, but must be complemented by forceful and decisive agreements at the bilateral, sub-regional, regional, and inter-regional levels. Collective self-reliance is the cornerstone of a new world information and communication order.

We recommend:

69. The communication dimension should be incorporated

into existing programmes and agreements for economic cooperation between developing countries.

70. Joint activities in the field of communication, which are under way between developing countries, should be developed further in the light of the overall analysis and recommendations of this Report. In particular, attention should be given to cooperation among national news agencies, to the further development of the News Agencies Pool and broadcasting organizations of the non-aligned countries, as well as to the general exchange on a regular basis of radio, TV programmes and films.

71. With respect to cooperation in the field of technical information, the establishment of regional and sub-regional data banks and information processing centres and specialized documentation centres should be given a high priority. They should be conceived and organized, both in terms of software and management, according to the particular needs of cooperating countries. Choices of technology and selection of foreign enterprises should be made so as not to increase dependence in this field.

72. Mechanisms for sharing information of a non-strategic nature could be established particularly in economic matters. Arrangements of this nature could be of value in areas such as multilateral trade negotiations, dealings with transnational corporations and banks, economic forecasting, and medium- and long-term planning and other similar fields.

73. Particular efforts should be undertaken to ensure that news about other developing countries within or outside their region receive more attention and space in the media. Special projects could be developed to ensure a steady flow of attractive and interesting material inspired by news values which meet developing countries' information needs.

74. Measures to promote links and agreements between professional organizations and communication researchers of different countries should be fostered. It is necessary to develop networks of institutions and people working in the field of communication in order to share and exchange experiences and implement joint projects of common interest with concrete operational contents.

International Mechanisms

Cooperation for the development of communications is a global

concern and therefore of importance to international organizations, where all Member States can fully debate the issues involved and decide upon multi-national action. Governments should therefore attentively review the structures and programmes of international agencies in the communications field and point to changes required to meet evolving needs.

We recommend:

75. The Member States of Unesco should increase their support to the Organization's programme in this area. Consideration should be given to organizing a distinct communication sector, not simply in order to underline its importance, but to emphasize that its activities are inter-related with the other major components of Unesco's work – education, science and culture.(1) In its communications activities, Unesco should concentrate on priority areas. Among these are assistance to national policy formulation and planning, technical development, organizing professional meetings and exchanges, promotion and coordination of research, and elaboration of international norms.

76. Better coordination of the various communication activities within Unesco and those throughout the United Nations System. A thorough inventory and assessment of all communications development and related programmes of the various agencies should be undertaken as a basis for designing appropriate mechanisms to carry out the necessary consultations, cooperation and coordination.

77. It would be desirable for the United Nations family to be equipped with a more effective information system, including a broadcast capability of its own and possibly a communication satellite. The would enable the United Nations to follow more closely world affairs and transmit its message more effectively to all the peoples of the earth. Although such a proposal would require heavy investment and raise some complex issues, a feasibility study should

(1) Comment by Mr. M. Lubis: "I strongly believe that the present set-up in Unesco (Sector of Culture and Communication) is adequate to deal with the problems of communication."

be undertaken so that a carefully designed project could be prepared for deliberation and decision. [1] [2]

78. Consideration might be given to establishing within the framework of Unesco an International Centre for the Study and Planning of Information and Communication. Its main tasks would be to: (a) promote the development of national communication systems in developing countries and the balance and reciprocity in international information flows; (b) mobilize resources required for that purpose and manage the funds put at its disposal; and (c) assure coordination among parties interested in communication development and involved in various cooperation programmes and evaluate results of bilateral and multilateral activities in this field; (d) organize round tables, seminars, and conferences for the training of communication planners, researchers and journalists, particularly those specializing in international problems; and (e) keep under review communications technology transfers between developed and developing countries so that they are carried out in the most suitable conditions. The Centre may be guided by a tripartite coordinating council composed of representatives of developing and developed countries and of interested international organizations. We suggest

---

[1] Comment by Mr. M. Lubis: "I am of the opinion that the present communication potential of the UN system has not been effectively and efficiently used and managed. And I cannot foresee for a long time to come that the UN system will be able to speak with one voice on the really relevant issues of the world, disarmament, peace, freedom, human rights. However, I support the suggestion about a feasibility study, contained in the same paragraph."

[2] Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I would point out that the phenomenal growth of international broadcasting highlights the absence of a UN International Broadcasting System. Some thirty countries broadcast a total of *12,000 hours* per week in one hundred different languages. I urge that the UN should establish a broadcasting system of its own that would broadcast 24 hours round the clock in not less than 30 different languages. See my paper on *The Protection of Journalists* (CIC Document No. 90, paragraph 46) and the paper on *International Broadcasting* (CIC Document No. 60)."

UNESCO should undertake further study of this proposal for consideration at the 1980 session of the General Conference.[1]

Towards International Understanding

The strengthening of peace, international security and cooperation and the lessening of international tensions are the common concern of all nations. The mass media can make a substantial contribution towards achieving these goals. The special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament called for increased efforts by the mass media to mobilize public opinion in favour of disarmament and of ending the arms race. This Declaration together with the Unesco Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war should be the foundation of new

---

[1] Comment by Ms. B. Zimmerman: "Although I agree that a coordinating body in the field of communication development could serve a useful purpose I cannot support this precise recommendation. All members of the Commission did not have the opportunity to discuss thoroughly the advantages and disadvantages of various objectives and structures for such a coordinating body. As a Unesco Intergovernmental Conference is to be held in 1980 to cover that topic, I feel the Commission should welcome the careful study that the Unesco Conference is in a position to give the matter, rather than offering any recommendation at this time."

Comment by Mr. E. Abel: "This proposal is premature, unnecessary and unwise. The design of an appropriate mechanism for promoting and coordinating communications development demands more time and resources than this Commission possesses. Essentially the same proposal here advanced was one of two submitted to a Unesco experts meeting in November; neither one was endorsed. This question is on the agenda for an intergovernmental meeting at Unesco in April. The UN General Assembly has now taken a strong interest in the matter and has requested the Secretary-General to intervene. As it stands, this proposal can only deter the necessary cooperation of both the competent UN bodies and the developed nations whose cooperation is indispensable to further progress."

Comment by Mr. S. MacBride: "I suggest that if any steps are taken in this direction prior consultation and accord should be reached with journalists' organizations and other NGOs involved in the mass media."

communication policies to foster international understanding. A new world information and communication order requires and must become the instrument for peaceful cooperation between nations.

We recommend:

79. National communication policies should be consistent with adopted international communication principles and should seek to create a climate of mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence among nations. Countries should also encourage their broadcast and other means of international communication to make the fullest contribution towards peace and international cooperation and to refrain from advocating national, racial or religious hatred, and incitement to discrimination, hostility, violence or war.

80. Due attention should be paid to the problems of peace and disarmament, human rights, development and the creation of a new communication order. Mass media both printed and audiovisual, should be encouraged to publicise significant documents of the United Nations, of Unesco, of the world peace movements, and of various other international and national organizations devoted to peace and disarmament. The curricula of schools in journalism should include study of these international problems and the views expressed on them within the United Nations.

81. All forms of cooperation among the media, the professionals and their associations, which contribute to the better knowledge of other nations and cultures, should be encouraged and promoted.

82. Reporting on international events or developments in individual countries in situations of crisis and tension requires extreme care and responsibility. In such situations the media often constitute one of the few, if not the sole, link between combatants or hostile groups. This clearly casts on them a special role which they should seek to discharge with objectivity and sensitivity.

The recommendations and suggestions contained in our Report do not presume to cover all topics and issues calling for reflections and action. Nevertheless, they indicate the importance and scale of the tasks which face every country in the field of information and communication, as well as their international dimensions which pose a formidable challenge to the community of nations.

Our study indicates clearly the direction in which the world must move to attain a new information and communication order – essentially a series of new relationships arising from the advances promised by new communication technologies which should enable

all peoples to benefit. The awareness already created on certain issues, such as global imbalances in information flows, suggests that a process of change has resulted and is under way. The power and promise of ever- new communication technologies and systems are, however, such as to demand deliberate measures to ensure that existing communication disparities do not widen. The objective should be to ensure that men and women are enabled to lead richer and more satisfying lives.

B. ISSUES REQUIRING FURTHER STUDY

We have suggested some actions which may help lead towards a new world information and communication order. Some of them are for immediate undertaking; others will take more time to prepare and implement. The important thing is to start moving towards a change in the present situation.

However, there are other issues that require examination, but the International Commission lacked time or sufficient data or expertise to deal with them. The proposals listed below have not been approved by the Commission; several were not, in fact, even discussed. Members felt free, nevertheless, to submit individual or group proposals which, in their judgement, called for study in the future. While these suggestions have not been endorsed by the Commission, they may still indicate some preliminary ideas about issues to be pursued, if and when they arouse interest.

1. Increased Interdependence

1. Studies are necessary to define more precisely the interdependence of interests of rich and poor countries, as well as of countries belonging to different socio-political systems. Research undertaken to date has not adequately explored this community of interest; more substantial findings are desirable as background for eventual future measures leading to wider cooperation. Similar studies are necessary to prepare more diversified cooperative efforts among developing countries themselves.

2. For the same purpose, indicators should be worked out to facilitate comparison of the results obtained through various media in different countries.

3. As international cooperation depends on mutual understanding, language barriers are a continuing problem. There is a certain imbalance in the use of international languages and studies might be undertaken with a view to improving the situation.

II. Improved Coordination

4. A new information and communication order cannot be developed on the basis of sporadic projects and initiatives, and without a solid research base. Feasibility studies are needed to ensure better coordination of activities in many fields, particularly at an initial stage, involving (a) news collection and supply; (b) data banks; (c) broadcast programme banks for exchange purposes; (d) exchange of data gathered by remote sensing.

III. International Standards and Instruments

5. The texts of international instruments (of the League of Nations, the United Nations and UN Agencies, intergovernmental organizations, etc.) as well as draft texts which have long run up against political barriers should be reviewed in order to promote further international legislation in this area, since only by extending its scope will it be possible to overcome certain difficulties and to regulate certain aspects of the new world communication order.

6. Studies should be undertaken to identify, if possible, principles generally recognised by the profession of journalism and which take into account the public interest. This could also encompass further consideration by journalists' organizations themselves, of the concept of an international code of ethics. Some fundamental elements for this code might be found in the Unesco Declaration on the mass media, as well as in provisions common to the majority of existing national and regional codes.

7. Studies should be undertaken on the social, economic and cultural effects of advertising to identify problems, and to suggest solutions, at the national and international levels, possibly including study of the practicability of an international advertising code, which could have as its basis the preservation of cultural identity and protection of moral values.

IV. Collection and Dissemination of News

8. The scope of the round tables, mentioned in Recommendation 51 above, could be enlarged, after appropriate studies, to include other major problems related to the collection and dissemination of international news, particularly professional, ethical and juridical aspects.

V. Protection of Journalists

9. Further studies should be made for the safeguarding of journalists in the exercise of their profession. The possibility might be explored for setting up some mechanism whereby when a journalist is either refused or deprived of his identity card he would have a right of appeal to a professional body, ideally with adequate judicial authority to rectify the position. Such studies should also look into the possibility of the creation of an international body to which a further appeal could be made in the final resort.

VI. Greater Attention to Neglected Areas

10. The concentration of the media in the developed regions, and the control of or access to them enjoyed by the affluent categories of the population, should be corrected by giving particular attention to the needs of the less developed countries and those of rural areas. Studies should be undertaken to evaluate these needs, to determine priorities and to measure the likely rate of return of future investments. Consideration might be given for example to (a) the feasibility of generalizing sound and television broadcasting and expanding telephone networks in rural areas; (b) the efficacy of possible government measures to expand distributions of receiving sets (e.g., through special facilities, tax exemptions, low-interest loans, subsidies, etc.) and (c) technological possibilities and innovations (e.g., the production of high-power generators for areas without electricity, etc.)

VII. More Extensive Financial Resources

11. The scarcity of available resources for communication development, both at national and international levels, highlights the need for further studies in three different areas: (a) identification of country priorities for national and international financing; (b) evaluation of the cost-effectiveness of existing investments; (c) the search for new financial resources.

12. As far as new resources are concerned, several possibilities might be explored: (a) marshalling of resources deriving from surplus profits on raw materials; (b) establishment of an international duty on the use of the electromagnetic spectrum and geostationary orbit space for the benefit of developing countries; (c) levying of an international duty[1] on the profits of transnational corporations producing transmission facilities and equipment for the benefit of developing countries and for the partial financing of the cost of using international communication facilities (cable, telecommunicatons networks, satellites, etc.)

* * *

Responding to its wide mandate, the Commission has sought to identify major problems and trends and has recommended certain lines of action. Apart from recommendations coming from the Commission as a whole, some of its members made additional suggestions, considering that the interest for new issues will continue to grow.

It is important to realise that the new order we seek is not only a goal but a stage in a journey. It is a continuing quest for ever more free, more equal, more just relations within all socieites and among all nations and peoples. This report represents what we believe we have learned. And this, above all, is what we wish to communicate.

---

[1] Comment by Mr. S. Losev: "The idea of an international tax for whatever good reason or causes does not seem just or justifiable to me."

Comment by Mr. S. MacBride and Ms. B. Zimmerman: "The examples cited, particularly those proposing international duties, seem to have been insufficiently considered in terms of their validity or practicability in the international sphere, and indicate the need for further careful study in this area."

The World Press Freedom Committee Story

THE WORLD Press Freedom Committee was activated in May of 1976 by a group of international journalists to unify the free world media for major threats that develop.

It has united under one banner 32 journalistic organizations, making it a strong global voice against those who advocate state-controlled media; those who seek to deny truth in news; and those who abuse newsmen.

There are both print and broadcast affiliates, which are listed subsequently, and one of the strengths of the World Press Freedom Committee is that it includes organizations of media workers, whose participation is as important as that of owners and managers.

The WPFC's first challenge was the Soviet draft declaration on the uses of the mass media that was presented to UNESCO's General Conference in Nairobi in the fall of 1976.

WPFC was one of several international organizations that helped to sidetrack that declaration, and then it adopted a program that set it apart from other organizations with which it had campaigned.

It undertook to raise money to meet some of the media needs of the Third World nations. The committee has made substantial progress in its funding campaign, all from non-governmental media sources.

The Gannett Corporation, publishers of the largest group of newspapers in the United States, led the way with $100,000. Donations have come from many large print and broadcast organizations. And there have been scores of contributions of varying amounts from the small dailies and broadcast stations of the world.

What is the committee doing with the money? More than $300,000 has been committed to 38 projects, typical of which are:

- $15,000 for organizing and conducting a training school for print and broadcast reporters in Trinidad.
- $20,000 to the Inter American Press Association to help support five seminars in Latin America and the Caribbean during 1979-80.
- $5,000 to the Inter-American Association of Broadcasters for a feasibility study for a Latin American Communications Center for print and broadcast students.
- $25,000 to underwrite a two-week seminar at the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development.
- $2,000 for textbooks for African journalism students in Kenya and Nigeria.
- $8,000 to Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and the Central American News Agency (ACAN) for workshops for their bureau chiefs, correspondents and stringers.
- $5,000 for seminar on the rural press sponsored by the University of Nairobi.
- $10,000 for seminar for Asian-Pacific business writers in Kuala Lumpur.

These are modest sums. They are designed to help journalists help themselves.

We see the World Press Freedom Committee as a stimulating and reinforcing agency.

We have many requests for cooperation. Many of these will be met. We focus on training as the best avenue to raise the professional standards and the performance of the news media.

One of the World Press Freedom Committee's main objectives is to be a watchdog for the free world media. It has had delegations at UNESCO, non-aligned and other conferences where the media have been under attack. It was in Costa Rica, Nairobi, Florence, Sri Lanka, Bogota, Dubrovnik, Venice, Stockholm, Panama, Kuala Lumpur, and four times in Paris.

The World Press Freedom Committee also is concerned about the advances which communications technology – both print and broadcast – may offer to Third World journalists.

The committee has a manpower pool of more than 900 professional and technical print and broadcast experts who are ready to assist and advise their fellows in the Third World. Many in the pool are recently retired and are anxious to offer their talents to the media of developing nations.

Volunteers always are in the field.

The World Press Freedom Committee, working with the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the National Association of Broadcasters, also is serving as a clearing house for equipment donated by American and Canadian print and broadcast organizations.

The World Press Freedom Committee is gratified with the progress it has made, and with the response it has received from the Third World.

World Press Freedom Committee Officers

Harold W. Andersen, Chairman
Omaha World-Herald
World-Herald Square
Omaha, Nebraska 68102
Tel: (402) 444-1000

George Beebe, Executive Director
The Miami Herald
1 Herald Plaza
Miami, Florida 33101
Tel: (305) 350-2401

OFFICERS

Harold W. Andersen
Omaha World-Herald
Chairman

German E. Ornes, El Caribe
Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic
Vice Chairman

Pedro Crespo de Lara
Asociasion de Editores
de Espanoles, Madrid
Vice Chairman

Arch L. Madsen
Bonneville International
Corporation, Salt Lake City
Vice Chairman

Leonard Marks, Cohn & Marks
Washington, D.C.
Secretary-Treasurer

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Harold W. Andersen
Omaha World-Herald
Omaha, Nebraska

George Beebe
The Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

Pedro Crespo de Lara
Asociasion de Editores
Madrid, Spain

Guido Fernandez
La Nacion
San Jose, Costa Rica

Jerry W. Friedheim
ANPA
Reston, Virginia

Kenneth Gordon
Trinidad Express
Trinidad, West Indies

Henry A. Grunwald
Time, Inc.
New York, New York

William Heine
London Free Press
London, Ontario, Canada

Clayton Kirkpatrick
Chicago Tribune
Chicago, Illinois

Arch L. Madsen
Bonneville International Corp.
Salt Lake City, Utah

Leonard Marks
Cohn & Marks
Washington, D.C.

Luis Teofilo Nunez
El Universal
Caracas, Venezuela

German Ornes
El Caribe, Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic

Charles A. Perlik
The Newspaper Guild
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Luis Alberto Sole
IAAB
Montevideo, Uruguay

Richard Schmidt, Cohn & Marks
Washington, D.C.
Legal Counsel

World Press Freedom Committee Affiliates

American Newspaper Publishers Association
American Society of Newspaper Editors
American Women in Radio and Television, Inc.
Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcast Training
Asociacion Dominicana de Diarios
Asociacion de Editores de Diarios Espanoles
Asociacion de Entidades Periodisticas Argentinas (ADEPA)
Asociacion Nacional Diarios of Colombia (Andiarios)
Associated Press Broadcasters Association
Associated Press Managing Editors Association
Bloque de Prensa – Venezuela
Bonneville International of Utah
Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association
Freedom House
Inter-American Association of Broadcasters
Inter American Press Association
International Federation of Journalists
Japan Publishers and Editors Association
Kops-Monahan Communications, Inc.
National Association of Broadcasters
National Conference of Editorial Writers
National Federation of Press Women
National Newspaper Association
Netherlands Association of Newspaper Editors
Newspaper Guild
Overseas Press Club of America, Inc.
Radio Television News Directors Association
Society of Professional Journalists
Suburban Communications Corporation
United Press International Broadcast Advisory Board
United Press International Newspaper Advisory Board
Women in Communications, Inc.